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MDCCCXXIX.



TO
HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY
GEORGE IV.

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

SIRE,

I SHOULD not have presumed to lay before your Majesty any lucubration of mine, had I not been for some years connected with that department of literature in the University of Cambridge, which owed its foundation to the munificence of one of your Majesty's royal predecessors, and is continued by your Majesty's bounty; the Professorship of Modern History.

In addition to the annual course of Lectures which I have been in the habit of delivering to the members of the University

of Cambridge, on the languages and literature of modern Europe, I have turned my attention to the discoveries recently made in decyphering and methodizing the sacred writings of ancient Egypt, induced by the lively interest which this subject has excited in almost every part of the civilized world.

I now venture to lay before your Majesty the first fruits of my labours; they are the tribute of my devotion to your Majesty, and my duty; they are the imperfect offerings of my gratitude for the peace and comfort which I have enjoyed under your Majesty's Government. England became my refuge during the revolutionary storms which agitated my own country, and ever since that period it has been the land of my adoption.

Deign, Sire, to accept the following pages with that gracious condescension, by which your Majesty's character has been at all times so eminently distinguished.

It is not for me to invade the province of the historian, or to attempt a description of the signal events, both at home and abroad, which have so happily marked the progress of your Majesty's auspicious reign.

Let me, however, be permitted to bear my humble testimony to the encouragement and protection which your Majesty has invariably afforded to the arts which adorn, and to the institutions which improve, as they enlighten, society.

I remain,

SIRE,

Your Majesty's

Most faithful and devoted subject and servant,

SPINETO.

CAMBRIDGE,

May 30, 1829.

P R E F A C E.

IT is with diffidence and hesitation that the following Lectures are offered to the public. They were originally intended as an addition to a Course of Lectures, which the Author, as Deputy to the Professor of Modern History, has been in the habit of reading in the University of Cambridge, on the literature and languages of modern Europe. At the instance of some distinguished individuals, a few of them were delivered last year at the Royal Institution in London, and at the desire of many of the Author's friends, they now appear before the world.

In drawing them up, the Author has embraced a large field of inquiry, and has ventured on a path many parts of which have been but faintly explored; and he has had, in many instances, no other assistance than the few scattered materials

which he had been able to collect in the constantly interrupted course of his reading. He has had to address himself to people of education, on a subject extremely difficult, and in a language not his own; in a language full of idioms and niceties, which present difficulties even to the natives themselves, and seem to baffle and defy all the efforts of a foreigner.

Yet he cannot but remember the encouragement he received, while delivering these Lectures at Cambridge, and at the Royal Institution. And as they who heard them seemed to have a pleasure in listening to him, he cannot but hope that those who read them will be equally indulgent.

In the following pages the Author never meant to give the detail, but simply the result of his reading; and as they were originally intended for delivery only, critical discussion has been always avoided; neither have references been collected nor the authorities noted down on which the different statements were founded. To this deficiency all Lectures are liable; it arises from the very nature of that mode of instruction. Yet

what was possible has been done ; in most cases the Author has not failed to mention, in a general way, the name of the author, or of the book from which he has taken the fact, or derived assistance.

It is not improbable that his readers may occasionally differ from him on several points, which he has endeavoured to establish, in regard to the antiquities of Egypt, to its literature, to its progress in the arts of civilization and luxury, and, above all, in regard to chronology, and the succession of the Pharaohs.

This very difference of opinion, which has *always* existed among critics, has allowed great latitude in subjects of antiquity and literature ; and a proper degree of candour will no doubt be shewn to the Author, in a land like this, of refinement, civilization, and liberty.

Of the curious nature of the following Lectures he need say but little. The publications of the Society of Antiquaries, and of many learned individuals,—the discoveries of Dr. Young,—the amazing success which has attended the labours of the

indefatigable Champollion,—the monuments of all sorts which have been imported into England,—the great collection of Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum, and the magnificent descriptions which travellers of all nations have given of the majestic and wonderful ruins existing throughout Nubia and Egypt, have excited so much general interest in favour of hieroglyphics and Egyptian antiquities, that every thing connected with the existence and past grandeur of that extraordinary people is become an object of national curiosity.

One observation, however, the Author feels himself called upon to make, though it is not an observation for him to make, if he could well avoid it; and it is this:—that, unable to express himself as he might have hoped to do in his own language, he has had no resource but to assemble the greatest quantity of literary facts, and literary notices, which the limits of his Lectures allowed; being conscious that as he could derive no advantage from his manner, he had to depend only on his matter; and as he had no hope to please by the beauty of composition, his efforts have been always directed to give information, if he could,

and information only. And though these Lectures have been written with the view of suiting the taste of the general reader, yet he is not without a hope that they may occasionally offer to the scholar and to the antiquary materials sufficiently interesting to engage their attention.

CAMBRIDGE,
June 1st, 1829.

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LECTURE I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Necessity of prior explanations and of understanding ideas by Signs—Difficulties attending the study of hieroglyphics—Illustrations—Requisites for understanding hieroglyphics—Rosetta stone—Necessity of knowing the language, history, and customs of the old Egyptians—Ancient historians, Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, Manetho—Animals—Deities—Religious doctrine—Egyptian dynasties—Antiquities—Thebes—Memphis—Karnac—Louqsor—Abydos, &c.—Belzoni—Cailliaud—Champollion—Conclusion.

IT is necessary, before I approach the subject of hieroglyphics, to make a few preliminary observations. The information to be found in different individuals who assemble at a public lecture is very different. A lecturer must endeavour, above all things, to be as intelligible to his hearers as the subject admits; but this, in such a subject as hieroglyphics, is very difficult, and every allowance must be made for me, while I am alluding to so many things which have been long buried in the obscurity of distant ages, and are matters upon which studious and learned men have thought much, and disputed not a little.

The present Lecture will be chiefly occupied in endeavouring to explain such terms as I shall have hereafter to use ; the mentioning such characters and points of history as I may have hereafter to allude to ; and in giving such information as it would be inconvenient to give while the Lecture is going on, and when such information must be taken for granted. In all sciences, and in every species of instruction, something is generally laid down in the way of lemma, that the thoughts may not afterwards be embarrassed by unseasonable interruption. Much of what I am now going to say may be already familiar to those who have at all considered the subject before us, and to such it may appear tedious and unnecessary. This is, however, the great difficulty with which a public lecturer has to struggle, and from which he cannot escape ; that what is necessary to the mind of one hearer, is not so to the mind of another.

Mankind have always turned with great interest to the subject of hieroglyphics. These were characters found on public monuments in Egypt. The inhabitants of that celebrated land were always considered as the great masters of the knowledge of the ancient world. Here were characters in which much of their knowledge might be contained, but it was quite impossible to know what their meaning was. On this subject, therefore, the curiosity of mankind has been always very intense. They were supposed to be the characters in which the priests expressed, or rather concealed

their knowledge; and it was even thought that, in later times, the priests had themselves lost the art of understanding them. In looking at the characters, some of them had the appearance of something like letters; some were the pictures of birds or beasts; some of the human figure: nothing could be more fitted to baffle inquiry, and perplex conjecture.

And now I must digress for a moment, to request you will consider what an astonishing thing it is to express a thought of the mind by any written mark whatever. If I am thinking of a bird, or a lion, or a house, I may draw a bird, a lion, or a house; a picture may represent a thought; but beyond this all is impossibility. When the Spaniards arrived on the coast of Mexico, the Indians, you are aware, had no other way of informing their rulers of this important event, but by drawing pictures; and nothing can be more curious than the exhibition of this sort of picture-writing, to be found in Purchas's Pilgrim, which is an account of the early voyages, and of which I shall speak more fully in a future lecture. But consider, what a wide step there is between this picture-writing, and what we mean by writing. The next possible step would be to represent a bird, or a lion, or any material object, by any very prominent line belonging to the figure; but when this has been done, I would ask, what can next be done? Consider what an alphabet is; how very artificial! Consider what it is to combine the letters of the alphabet into

words ; consider that there is no possible connection between a cluster of these letters, or of these words, and a thought of the mind. Every mother can tell how slow and painful is the process by which a child may be taught its letters, as it is called. The process may well be slow and painful ; for how should a child discover any connection between the sound and the mark that is made to belong to it ? The difficulty, indeed, has been considered so great, that some philosophers have supposed that mankind could only have derived the use of letters from supernatural interposition. The Chinese are not in possession of an alphabet at this moment ; and nothing can be so curious as the system of their language.

You will now, then, see the difficulty that belonged to the subject of hieroglyphics from the first moment they were presented to an inquirer : was it a language of symbols ? did it consist of words ? was it made out of an alphabet ? was it a language spoken ? was it a dead language ? If a living language, what living language ? Was it a language known only to the priests themselves, as the Sanscrit of India was once supposed to be ? How endless were these fields of inquiry ! Many writers offered their reasonings and conjectures on the subject, and from this moment the study of Egyptian antiquities, and of hieroglyphics in particular, was carried on in a direction totally different from truth ; since imagination was substituted for reason, and conjecture for facts.

I will offer you a specimen in illustration of what I am saying. Observe, for instance, the method employed in the seventeenth century by the Jesuit Kircher.

This indefatigable writer, in the several works which he published on hieroglyphics, pretended to have discovered in all the Egyptian inscriptions engraved on obelisks and mummies, the whole of the cabalistic art, and the extraordinary rules and precepts of the most refined system of demonology.

Indeed it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to give an idea of the absurdities which are found in his works, from the practical impossibility of translating some of his explanations. One instance will suffice. Among the obelisks which the Roman emperors removed from Egypt to Rome, there is one called the Pamphilian obelisk; it is entirely covered with hieroglyphics, and among them we find a cluster of seventeen characters. These, modern ingenuity has discovered to contain the name of Domitian, accompanied by his titles of Cæsar Augustus; in the Greek language, *Καίσαρ Σεβαστος*, spelt in hieroglyphics *Κισαρ*. How has the learned Jesuit translated them? You shall hear:—"Generationis beneficus præses cœlesti dominio quadri-potens ærem per Mophta beneficum humorem æreum committit amoni inferiora potentissimo, qui per simulacrum et ceremonias appropriatas trahitur ad potentiam exerendam." I find it utterly impossible to make any translation of this jargon.

Such is the specimen of the interpretation which

the Jesuit Kircher made of hieroglyphics. Other writers, considering the land of Egypt as *too confined* a spot, thought that the doctrine concealed by these Egyptian characters affected the whole of mankind, and imagined that hieroglyphics contained the precepts and the system of the Christian religion, revealed to the Egyptian priests 4000 years before its Founder. Others, with equal truth, imagined that the hieroglyphics on the Pamphilian obelisk were intended to preserve the memory of the victory which the believers in the Trinity and the Word obtained over the wicked Pagans, six centuries after the flood, during the reigns of the sixth and seventh kings of Egypt; and, to complete the whole, the chevalier Palin, thinking that there was the greatest possible similarity between the Egyptian hieroglyphics and the Chinese characters, has asserted that we have only to translate the Psalms of David into Chinese, and write them in the ancient characters of that language, to reproduce the Egyptian Papyri; and that Hebrew translations of many of the consecrated rolls of papyrus are to be found in the Bible.

On the whole it was quite clear that no real knowledge of the nature of hieroglyphics could be obtained, unless some public edifice or obelisk was found, in which the same inscription was written first in hieroglyphics, and afterwards in some language that was known. It was then possible that the corresponding parts of the two inscriptions might be compared together, and the general mean-

ing, at least of some parts of the hieroglyphic inscription, be discovered.

But here again it was observed, that if the hieroglyphic inscription was not made up of symbols, it must have a reference to some language, and unless that language was known, nothing more could, even then, be made out, but that such particular characters had such a particular meaning, and the whole nature of hieroglyphics could not yet be considered as sufficiently ascertained.

Now it so happens, that a stone of this kind has been found; the celebrated Rosetta stone, of which I shall have to speak hereafter. On this stone there were observed different inscriptions,—one in hieroglyphics, one in Greek, and a third in the characters which the Egyptians had been accustomed to write for many centuries.

Here was evidently a field opened for the enquiry of learned men, and it was possible that ingenuity and diligence might now not be exerted in vain.

But as the hieroglyphics seem not entirely to consist of pictures of animals or human figures, the probability was, that it had a reference to some language, and the question was, what this language could be. Probably it might be the language spoken in the country at the time the inscription was made. This, at least, was the only chance to proceed upon; for if the language was a dead one, or one known only to the priests, there was little

chance of much discovery in this very curious subject.

Now the great hope was, that the language should be the Coptic. This was the language spoken by the Egyptians in later ages ; and an ingenious and learned Frenchman, M. De Quattremere, has proved that this was also the language of the old Egyptians, preserved by oral communication from time immemorial. His book bears the title of “ *Recherches sur la Langue et la Literature de l’Egypt ;*” and it was published in Paris, in the year 1808. According, therefore, to M. De Quattremere, in whatever time these hieroglyphics were written, the language was probably Coptic. This language was not unknown to learned men ; we have the Pentateuch, and several parts of the Scriptures, translated into Coptic ; so that here was, again, some hope for the student of hieroglyphics. This old Coptic language might also be affected by the incursions of the Arabians ; for their first incursion and settlement in Egypt precedes the age of Joseph : and there is, besides, every reason to suppose, that in later times, during the captivity of the Israelites in that country, they made a second incursion, and possessed themselves of the whole of the Lower Egypt, where they fixed their residence, and formed a new dynasty,—so much known in history by the appellation of Shepherd Kings, or, as the Egyptians called them, Hyk-shos. But the Arabic language is known,

and, therefore, this circumstance would not necessarily create an insurmountable confusion. But on these accounts it was on the whole clear, that no student of hieroglyphics was likely to succeed, unless he could make himself acquainted with the history of Egypt, the nature of its language, and, if possible, the customs and manners of the people.

In the Lectures I shall have to deliver, I must endeavour to explain what progress has been made by those who laboured in this subject now before us ; and a continual reference, as you will already see, must be necessarily made to every thing connected with this country of Egypt.

That the mind may not be hereafter embarrassed for want of a little preliminary knowledge, I will mention a few particulars.

In the first place, we may refer to the ancient historians, and among them the most known and popular are Herodotus and Diodorus. Most of them seem to have travelled into Egypt for the purpose of acquainting themselves with the nature of its institutions, religion, and learning. They give their account, and state it as the result of the enquiry which they had made, and more particularly from the priesthood ; and the information they give may serve not a little to illustrate such appearances as are found in the hieroglyphics. The animals they mention as sacred, and as, on different accounts, noticed by the Egyptians, were, the ram, the bull, the cow, the serpent, the bird ibis,

the beetle, &c. Now all these are seen in the hieroglyphics.

Sometimes a particular figure appears in the hieroglyphics, and this figure may be one of their deities. What has been said, therefore, of their particular deities, may assist us in comprehending these hieroglyphics. Their principal god was Ammon, the Creator of the Universe, or the Demiurgos. He had for assistants the god Cneph, or Cnoupis, and the goddess Neith. This god Cnoupis, and this goddess Neith, were considered as an emanation of Ammon, the one representing the male principle, or the emblem of paternity, the other the female, or the emblem of maternity; and both together formed one single being, with the great Demiurgos, who had organised the whole world. This goddess Neith was mistaken by the Greeks for their Minerva. The Egyptians had, besides, the god Phtha, whom the Greeks mistook or compared to their Vulcan. Besides these deities there was the goddess Saté, whose particular department it was to dispose of the souls of the dead; and the goddess Smè, who was the Egyptian Thémis, and to whom the Greeks gave the appellation of *Αλήθεια*. The god Phre, or Re, was the eye of the world, the dispenser of light, which the Greeks have converted into their Apollo. Osyris, the representative of Ammon in the next world, became the Pluto of the Greeks, and Isis, as the wife of Osyris, or Saté, or Smé, as his assistant, was converted into Proserpine, who was the wife of

Pluto, and sometimes into Themis, the goddess of justice and truth.

But in considering the deities of Egypt, we must not look upon them with the same eye as we do those of Greece and Rome. For nothing would lead us further astray than to apply to the Egyptian gods and goddesses the same principle which directs us in regard to the Roman and Grecian Pantheon. The gods and goddesses of Rome and Greece were each a different being, quite distinct among themselves, and the whole religion of both these countries was a regular polytheism. But the gods and goddesses of the Egyptians were merely emanations, or representations of the several attributes of the Supreme Being. For the religion of the Egyptians, in its primary institution, was Deism, and the immortality of the soul, and the certainty of a future life was one of their principal dogmas. In fact, many of the hieroglyphical legends which are found in MSS. or sculptured on the ruins of their temples, are but a representation of these important tenets, as I shall have to explain in a future Lecture. Indeed there seems no doubt that the Grecian Pantheon was but a corruption of the Egyptian, and that the gods and goddesses of the Greeks and of the Romans were but a distorted copy of the gods and goddesses of Egypt taken literally, as their Hades and their Tartarus, their Elysian fields, with Charon, Cerberus, Pluto and Proserpine, had no other model than the Egyptian

Amenti, and the power of the Supreme Being over the souls of the dead.

Sometimes the person to whom the hieroglyphics refer, may be some celebrated king, or conqueror; and, therefore, the Egyptian history, such as it is given by Herodotus, Manetho, and others, may be of use to us. On this subject I shall say more hereafter.

Sometimes the hieroglyphics seem to describe some scene that has taken place, to relate some story, to refer to some religious ceremony, to some mystery, or to some part of their system of belief. To these we have already alluded, and in the course of these Lectures I shall have to give a distinct representation of this kind.

In regard to history, though many ancient writers, such as Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, Plutarch and others, have written on the history and antiquities of Egypt, yet there is but one native Egyptian historian of note, who has given a regular account of the history of his country, and this historian is Manetho. He was a priest, and wrote the history of his country, and of the Egyptian dynasties which had preceded Alexander, by the order of his sovereign, Ptolemy Philadelphus. His work, which was originally in three volumes, is now lost; but some valuable fragments exist in the works of several writers, mostly primitive Christians, who have transcribed him for the sake of confuting his assertions. His work being, therefore,

considered as authentic and important by these writers, may be so considered by us in a later age, and we of course apply to these extracts thus preserved, when we seek for explanation of those monuments which refer to the events which he has recorded.

From Manetho, therefore, we learn, that up to the time of Alexander, thirty-two different dynasties had reigned over Egypt; that their rulers invariably assumed the title of Pharaohs; that during the first sixteen dynasties, Egypt acquired a degree of power and civilization unknown to the rest of the world, and was covered with a great number of magnificent monuments, many of which still defy the hand of time; that it was during this early period that the various canals were dug, to carry every where the waters of the Nile, and that a large lake was excavated, to collect the superfluous waters. In short, it was during this period that the government of Egypt, the wisdom of its laws, and the learning of the priesthood, acquired that degree of celebrity which so entitled them to the subsequent respect of mankind.

From the same historian Manetho, from Eusebius, and Josephus, and from monuments which Mr. Champollion has been able to decypher, we learn that the sixteenth dynasty of the Pharaohs was composed of five kings, who held the throne of Egypt for the space of 190 years, and that the name of the last king of this dynasty was Timaus Concharis. He held the throne of Egypt but for

a short time ; for, in the sixth year of his reign, a horde of foreigners, whom Manetho represents as Arabians, made an irruption into Egypt, and took possession of that part of the country which lies near the Mediterranean, and is called Lower Egypt, the capital of which was Memphis.

They formed a new dynasty, the seventeenth, which is distinguished by the historian by the name of Hyk-shos, or shepherd kings. It seems that they held the throne of Egypt for the space of 260 years ; and though they assumed the title of Pharaohs, yet they are represented as perfect barbarians ; rapacious and cruel, laying waste the country, pillaging and destroying temples and buildings, murdering all the men capable of bearing arms, and reducing to slavery the women and children. During the whole of this disastrous time, Egypt was divided into two different governments, or kingdoms. The one held by the Hyk-shos, at Memphis, the other by the real Pharaohs, who had retired to Thebes ; though it seems, that at the very beginning of the invasion, these latter, unable to withstand the torrent, became tributaries to the usurpers.

The Pharaohs, however, did not remain idle at Thebes. Recovering their strength and courage, they began to attack the Hyk-shos, and, after a struggle which lasted for some time, the sixth of the Pharaohs, called Mispframouthosis, gained so decisive a victory over the enemy, that he drove them to their last refuge, the town of Aouaris.

This was a place of strength, a fortress, which the Hyk-shos had built against the attempts of the Assyrians, and where they had collected the remainder of their forces. But the Pharaoh Thoutmosis, son and successor of Misptra, now master of the whole of Egypt, brought up so many forces against them, that they, unable to defend themselves any longer, left the country, and retired into Syria.

During this period, the deliverance or departure of the Israelites from the land of Egypt is fixed, and not without reason, as I shall have it in my power to prove, hereafter.

This victory of Thoutmosis rendered him the chief of the eighteenth dynasty, undoubtedly the greatest that ever held the throne of Egypt; for among his several successors we find Rameses Meiamon, Rameses Sethosis, the Sesostris of the Greeks, and other princes equally celebrated for their wisdom and conquests. Of these princes I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, as the cover of the sarcophagus which once contained the remains of one of these mighty monarchs now lies in the Fitzwilliam museum at Cambridge.

Upon the whole, therefore, we must divide the whole period of the Egyptian empire into the five following periods.

The first begins with the first establishment of their government, and comprehends the time during which all religious and political authority was in the hands of the priesthood, who laid the

first foundation of the future power of Egypt, founding and embellishing the great city of Thebes, building magnificent temples, and instituting the mysteries of Isis, from Misraim to Menes.

From the foundation of the Egyptian monarchy to Cambyse
The second period begins at the abolition of this primitive government, and the first establishment of the monarchical government, by Menes. From this time commences what is generally called the Pharaonic age, and ends at the irruption of Cambyses. This is doubtless the most brilliant period of the Egyptian monarchy, during which the whole of Egypt was covered with those magnificent works which still command our admiration, and excite our astonishment; and by the wisdom of its institutions and laws, and by the learning of its priests, was rendered the most rich, the most populous, and the most enlightened country in the world.

The third epoch, embraces nearly 200 years, and begins from the overthrowing of the empire of the Pharaohs by Cambyses, and ends at Alexander.

The fourth epoch embraces the reign of the Ptolomies. It begins at the death of Alexander, or rather at the elevation of Ptolomy Lagus to the throne of Egypt, 323 years before Christ, and ends at the death of the famous queen, Cleopatra, when that kingdom became a Roman province.

At this period, which precedes the birth of our Saviour by two years only, the fifth epoch begins,

and continues to the time, when about the middle of the fourth century, the Christian religion having become the religion of the country, the use of hieroglyphics was for ever discontinued, and the Coptic characters generally adopted.

During the first three periods, from the establishment of the monarchy under the priests, under the Pharaohs, and under Cambyses, the language used in the country was the old Egyptian, or Coptic; while during the last two periods, from Alexander to the abolition of the hieroglyphics under the Ptolemies and the Roman emperors, we find in many cases the Greek language used on public monuments; so that the same hieroglyphics which, during the hieratic, Pharaonic, and Persian government formed Coptic words, during the Grecian and Roman periods produced occasionally Grecian expressions, and Grecian titles. This, of course, was but the natural consequence of the nature of the different governments during these several periods. The priests and the Pharaohs were Egyptians, Cambyses and his successors Persians. But the Ptolemies came from Greece, and the Romans using the Grecian language which they had learned, preferred it to the barbarous Egyptian, as they called it, and of which they knew nothing.

We must now refer a little to the topography and antiquities of this extraordinary country. Every thing of this nature has a connection with the subject of hieroglyphics, for they are found in

particular situations, in temples, and amid the ruins of cities that were long the admiration of the world. These cities, temples, and monuments of ancient grandeur, I shall have continually to refer to in the ensuing Lectures.

The whole of Egypt was divided into three large portions. The one more south, and nearer to the head of the Nile, was called Higher Egypt, the next was called Middle Egypt, and the last, near to the Mediterranean, was called Lower Egypt.

Originally, during the hieratic government, the whole of this great country had but one capital, and this was Thebes, which the Egyptians called Tsaky; but, after the Pharaoh Menes had built the city of Memphis, in Lower Egypt, and removed his court, and taken up his residence in that city, Memphis, though the second capital of the empire, became, in progress of time, the rival of Thebes, and, ultimately, the cause of its ruin; as both these towns have been very celebrated in history, a short account of their past magnificence and grandeur may not be uninteresting.

The city of Thebes is, perhaps, the most astonishing work executed by the hand of man. Its ruins are the most unequivocal proof of the ancient civilization of Egypt, and of the high degree of power which the Egyptians had reached by the extent of their knowledge. Its origin is lost in the obscurity of time, it being coeval with the nation which first took possession of Egypt; and it is sufficient to give a proper idea of its antiquity to say,

that the building of Memphis was the first attempt made to rival the prosperity of Thebes.

Its extent was immense, it filled the whole valley which was permeated by the Nile. D'Anville and Denon state its circumference to have been 36 miles; its diameter not less than ten and a half. The number of its inhabitants was in proportion to these vast dimensions. Diodorus says, that the houses were four and five stories high. Although Thebes had greatly fallen off from its ancient splendour at the time of Cambyses, yet it was the fury of this merciless conqueror that gave the last blow to its grandeur. This prince pillaged its temples, carried away all the ornaments of gold, silver, and ivory, which decorated its magnificent buildings, and ruined both its temples and its buildings. Before this unfortunate epoch, no city in the world could be compared with it in extent, splendour, and riches; and, according to the expression of Diodorus, the sun had never seen so magnificent a city.

Previous to the establishment of the monarchical government, Thebes was the residence of the principal college of the priesthood, who ruled over the country. It is to this epoch that all writers refer the elevation of its most ancient edifices. The enumeration of them all would require more time than we have. I shall confine my observations to four of the most celebrated, to which I shall have occasion often to refer.

These were the temple, or palace of Karnac, of Louqsor; the Memnonium; and the Medineh-Tabou, or, as some other travellers spell it, Medinet-habou.

The temple, or the palace of Karnac was, without doubt, the most considerable monument of ancient Thebes. It was not less than a mile and a half in circumference, and M. Denon employed nearly twenty minutes on horseback in going round it, at full gallop. It had in front two immense courts, adorned by ranges of columns, some of which were sixty feet high, and others eighty; and at their respective entrances there were two colossal statues on the same scale. In the middle of the second court there were four obelisks of granite of a finished workmanship, three of which are still standing. They stood before the sanctuary, built all of granite, and covered with sculptures representing symbolical attributes of the god to whom the temple was consecrated. This was the Maker of the universe, the Creator of all things, the *Zeus* of the Greeks, the Jupiter of the Latins, but the Ammon of the Egyptians. By the side of the sanctuary there were smaller buildings, probably the apartments of those attached to the service of the temple; and behind it other habitations, adorned with columns and porticos, which led into another immense court, having on each side closed passages, or corridors, and at the top a covered portico, or gallery, supported by a great

number of columns and pilasters. In this way the sanctuary was entirely surrounded by these vast and splendid buildings, and the whole was enclosed by a wall, covered internally and externally with symbols and hieroglyphics, which went round the magnificent edifice.

Beyond this wall there were other buildings, and other courts, filled with colossal statues of grey and white marble. These buildings, or temples, communicated with each other by means of galleries and passages, adorned with columns and statues. The most striking circumstance, however, is, that attached to this palace are the remains of a much more considerable edifice, of higher antiquity, which had been introduced into the general plan when this magnificent building was restored by the Pharaoh Amenophis, the third king of the eighteenth dynasty, nearly 2000 years before Christ. This more ancient edifice, or rather its ruins, are considered to be more than four thousand years old, or 2272 years before Christ. I shall have to speak of them in a future Lecture. A second wall enclosed the whole mass of these immense and splendid buildings, the approach to which was by means of avenues, having on their right and left colossal figures of sphinxes. In one avenue they had the head of a bull; in another, they were represented with a human head; in a third, with a ram's head. This last was a mile and a half in length, began at the southern gate, and led to the temple of Louqsor.

Speaking of this magnificent temple, and of the avenue of sphinxes I have just mentioned, Belzoni exclaims, that “on approaching it the visiter is inspired with devotion and piety; their enormous size strikes him with wonder, and respect to the gods to whom they were dedicated. The immense colossal statues, which are seated at each side of the gate, seem guarding the entrance to the holy ground; still farther on was the majestic temple, dedicated to the great God of the creation.” And a little after, “I was lost,” says he, “in a mass of colossal objects, every one of which was more than sufficient of itself alone to attract my whole attention. I seemed alone in the midst of all that is most sacred in the world; a forest of enormous columns, adorned all round with beautiful figures and various ornaments from top to bottom. The graceful shape of the lotus, which forms their capitals, and is so well-proportioned to the columns, that it gives to the view the most pleasing effect; the gates, the walls, the pedestals, and the architraves also adorned in every part with symbolical figures in basso relievo and intaglio, representing battles, processions, triumphs, feasts, offerings, and sacrifices, all relating to the ancient history of the country; the sanctuary, wholly formed of fine red granite, with the various obelisks standing before it, proclaiming to the distant passenger, ‘Here is the seat of holiness;’ the high portals, seen at a distance from the openings of this vast labyrinth of edifices; the various groups of ruins of the other temples within

sight; these altogether had such an effect upon my soul, as to separate me, in imagination, from the rest of mortals, exalt me on high over all, and cause me to forget entirely the trifles and follies of life. I was happy for a whole day, which escaped like a flash of lightning."

Such is the language of Belzoni in describing these majestic ruins, and the effect they had upon him. Strong and enthusiastic as his expressions may, perhaps, appear, they are perfectly similar, I assure you, to those of other travellers. They all seem to have lost the power of expressing their wonder and astonishment, and frequently borrow the words and phrases of foreign nations to describe their feelings at the sight of these venerable and gigantic efforts of the old Egyptians.

I have said that this avenue of sphinxes led to the temple of Louqsor.

This second temple, though not equal to that of Karnac in regard to its colossal proportions, was its equal in magnificence, and much superior to it in beauty and style of execution.

At its entrance there still stand two obelisks 100 feet high, and of one single block, covered with hieroglyphics executed in a masterly style. It is at the feet of these obelisks that one may judge of the high degree of perfection to which the Egyptians had carried their knowledge in mechanics. M. Denon asserts, that it would cost millions to move them from their place. They were followed by two colossal statues forty feet high. After passing

through three different large courts, filled with columns of great dimensions, the traveller reached the sanctuary, surrounded by spacious halls supported by columns, and exhibiting the most beautiful mass of sculpture in the best style of execution.

“It is absolutely impossible,” again exclaims Belzoni, “to imagine the scene displayed, without seeing it. The most sublime ideas that can be formed from the most magnificent specimens of our present architecture, would give a very incorrect picture of these ruins. It appeared to me like entering a city of giants, who, after a long conflict, were all destroyed, leaving ruins of their various temples, as the only proofs of their former existence. The temple of Louqsor,” he adds, “presents to the traveller at once one of the most splendid groups of Egyptian grandeur. The extensive propylæon, with the two obelisks, and colossal statues in the front; the thick groups of enormous columns, the variety of apartments, and the sanctuary it contains; the beautiful ornaments which adorn every part of the walls and columns, cause in the astonished traveller an oblivion of all that he has seen before.”

So far Belzoni: and in this he is borne out by Champollion, who speaks of Thebes in terms of equal admiration. “All that I had seen, all that I had admired on the left bank,” says this learned Frenchman, “appeared miserable in comparison with the gigantic conceptions by which I was sur-

rounded at Karnac. I shall take care not to attempt to describe any thing ; for either my description would not express the thousandth part of what ought to be said, or, if I drew a faint sketch, I should be taken for an enthusiast, or, perhaps, for a madman. It will suffice to add, that no people, either ancient or modern, ever conceived the art of architecture on so sublime and so grand a scale as the ancient Egyptians. Their conceptions were those of one a hundred feet high ; and the imagination which, in Europe, rises far above our porticos, sinks abashed at the foot of the 140 columns of the Hypostyle hall at Karnac."

The third grand building of Thebes was the Memnonium ; that is, the tomb, or palace, of the Pharaoh Osymandias, whom the Greeks have supposed to be the same as Memnon. In the middle of the first court there was the greatest colossus ever raised by the Egyptians. It was the statue of king Osymandias, 75 feet high. Behind it there was an entrance which led into a second court, surrounded by porticos, supported by 50 other colossuses ; and after crossing several porticos and different apartments, one arrived at the celebrated library, on the entrance of which was an inscription, the signification of which was, " The medicine of the mind."

To the south of the Memnonium lies Medineh-Tabou, an Arabian village, the monuments of which evidently prove that it was at one time the residence of a Pharaoh, or at least of some great

person of his court. The assemblage of these monuments consists of a temple, and a large mass of buildings, some smaller and some larger. Amongst others, there is a small palace of one story, in high preservation, having still a staircase, its windows, doors, and balconies. The basis of this last is supported by figures of men; and at a little distance, a large palace, with courts in front, and adorned with basso relievos, which are mostly historical. They represent an Egyptian sovereign attacking a body of people, whose dresses evidently shew them to be Persians. The king obtains the victory, pursues the fugitives, besieges one of their towns, returns triumphant, offers sacrifices to the gods, and the like.

Besides these monuments Thebes offers an immense number of others, equally grand and equally interesting; among which we ought to reckon the tombs of the Pharaohs, in a valley to the north-west of the town. At the bottom of this valley, which is very narrow, the traveller is struck by several openings made in the rock: they are small doors, surmounted by basso relievos, and representing an oval, in which there is a scarabeus, and the figure of a man with the head of a hawk. On both sides of this symbolical representation there are two men in the act of adoration.

Each tomb, consisting of a great number of rooms cut into the rock, covered with sculpture and pictures, has a separate entrance. In the most inward apartment of each tomb, often supported

by columns or pilasters, lay the sarcophagus that inclosed the mummy. It is invariably made of one block of granite, and covered, inside and out, with hieroglyphics. The cover is also of one single block, and at the top is sculptured, in alto relievo, the figure of the person to whom the tomb belongs. There have been discovered, in these apartments, pieces of sculpture which give a perfect idea of the furniture used by the Egyptians, made in precious wood, and covered with stuff worked in gold. The easy chairs, the stools, and the couches, are very elegant, and extremely tasteful. The figure of their harps, and the great number of strings which they had, evidently shew that they belonged to a system of music both complicated and refined. At the time of Strabo, they reckoned forty-seven of these tombs, some of which had been opened. The total number of those which have been *now* opened amounts to eight.

It is also to the north-west of Thebes, and in the chain of the Lybian mountains, that they have excavated tombs for the inhabitants of this renowned city. Innumerable galleries, more than two miles in length, were destined to receive the embalmed bodies of the citizens of Thebes. In many other parts, and above all to the west of the colossuses of Memnonium, the mountain is entirely hollow, and filled with tombs, more or less splendid.

These tombs are still in existence; and if the ruins of Thebes fill the mind with admiration, how

can we divest ourselves of the painful sensation arising from the consideration that all these magnificent ruins, from which much information might be collected, remain in a spot now so desolate and uncivilized?

Such was mighty Thebes, the first, the most ancient capital of the Egyptian empire. And though many of these splendid buildings were raised or restored under the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty, yet most of them derived their origin during the time of the hieratic government; that is, when the priesthood held the supreme authority, both religious and civil. But this sort of government lasted only for a time; and with the change of government began the desertion and the decay of Thebes. An individual, called Menes, wrested from the hands of the priests the temporal power; and, to get out of the way of their influence and authority, he went to reside in Lower Egypt. In that part of the country there was a beautiful vale, at the foot of what is called the Lybian chain of mountains, which the Nile divided into two very unequal portions. To improve the strength and salubrity of this charming spot, Menes caused a new canal to be dug, into which he forced the waters of the Nile; and in the old bed of the river he laid the foundation of a new city, the celebrated Memphis, to which the Egyptians gave the name of Mafi, or Mefi, and occasionally even Menouf.

To prevent the possibility of an inundation,

which might carry the river into the old bed, and endanger the safety of the town, Menes ordered a strong dyke to be erected, extending itself four leagues southward: and not far off from this embankment he made an immense lake, into which were forced the superabundant waters of the Nile.

His son and successor, Athotis I., followed the plan and policy of his father; and, after having built a large palace, came with the whole of his court to reside in this new capital of the Egyptian empire. The noblemen soon imitated the example of their sovereign, and in this manner Memphis, in a very short time, became the rival of Thebes, both in extent and splendour; because the immediate successors of Athotis, animated by the same policy as their predecessors, very seldom or never visited Thebes, in order to avoid the influence of the priesthood, chiefly resident there, to whom the new form of government was particularly obnoxious. Of the extent and magnificence of Memphis, historians speak in terms of admiration. At the time of Cambyzes, it was not less than nine leagues in circumference, and abounded with magnificent buildings, which have been recorded as such by all the ancients, and many of the moderns. Among these latter I will quote a passage from Abd-Allah, an Arabian historian, who visited these venerable ruins in the 13th century.

“Notwithstanding the immense extent of this town, and notwithstanding its high antiquity,—notwithstanding all the vicissitudes attending the

various governments by which it has been conquered, and the efforts of many nations to annihilate even its ruins, by carrying away the stones and materials of the venerable buildings, and mutilating and otherwise destroying the figures which adorned them ; and notwithstanding all the effects which the course of four thousand years must have necessarily added to so many causes of destruction, the ruins of this ancient, and formerly splendid city, offer still to the eye of the beholder a combination of wonders, which astonish the mind, and prevent the possibility of describing them. The more we consider them, the more we feel our admiration increase ; and each look one given at these ruins, is a new cause of amazement and wonder ; and when a man thinks to have acquired a perfect knowledge of the whole, he must be convinced that this pretended knowledge is much beneath the reality of truth."

"Among the number of these wonders, a chamber is still to be admired, which is called the green chamber. It was cut out of a single stone, and was nine cubits (that is, thirteen feet and a half) high, twelve feet long, and eleven broad ; and filled all round with characters, and basso as well as alto relievos, representing men and beasts in different attitudes. It was destroyed in the year 1449, and formerly belonged to the celebrated temple of the god Phtha, under whose protection Memphis had been placed. It was in this temple that, in progress of time, the Pharaoh Sethosis Rameses had placed

his statue, as well as that of his wife, each forty-five feet high, and those of each child thirty, and all cut from one single block." Of the beauty of these statues, our historian speaks in terms of the highest admiration; he calls them "the highest effort of the excellence to which the Egyptians had carried the art of statuary."

You must not be surprised at the language of the historian. In Europe we have had no opportunity of forming a correct idea of the degree of perfection which the Egyptians had attained in statuary as well as painting. Our ideas have been acquired from the few diminutive specimens generally worked with great negligence, and belonging to religious ceremonies, which, as they were to be executed according to an established and fixed pattern, prevented the artist from displaying the extent of his art, or of his genius. We have, therefore, concluded, that the Egyptians knew nothing either in painting or sculpture, and that the productions of their artists were by no means to be compared with those of other nations. But the fact is far otherwise. The perfection to which the Egyptians had carried the arts of statuary and painting has surprised the greatest connoisseurs. In the tomb discovered by Belzoni, the whole excavation, sculptured and painted, was in the most finished style of art. Mr. Salt observes, that their colours are generally pure and brilliant, but intermixed with each other nearly in the proportion of the rainbow, and so subdued by the

proper introduction of black, as not to appear gaudy, but to produce a harmony, that, in some of the designs, is really delicious.

Nor is the language of artists themselves less strong. Mr. Beechey, a son of the celebrated painter, Sir William Beechey, professes himself quite fascinated with the effect of these combinations. "One would think it was in Egypt," says he, "that Titian, Giorgione, and Tintoret had acquired all that vigour and magic of effect which distinguishes them, in point of arrangement, and principally in the happy disposition of their darker colours."

These magnificent monuments, however, are not the only ones which are found in Egypt. The whole of that country is still covered with precious relics, which are equally ancient and equally interesting. From amongst them I shall mention two more, which are found in the Higher Egypt, and they are the temples of Dendéra and Esné.

The temple of Dendéra, which the Greeks called Tentyris, was dedicated to Isis, whose colossal image was sculptured at the higher end of the sanctuary, where two gigantic figures were seen burning frankincense before the statue of the goddess. The description which Denon gives of this magnificent temple, which still exists in the highest possible preservation, is very interesting. Columns, cornices, basement, internal and external walls, are all covered over with basso relievos, hieroglyphical inscriptions, and historical paintings,

exhibiting a great number of the customs and usages of the private life of the Egyptians, and the ceremonies of their worship. The whole is executed in so rich and masterly a style, as to be represented by those who have seen it as producing a wonderful effect.

“ J’aurais voulu tout dessiner,” says Denon, “ et je n’osais mettre la main à l’œuvre. Je sentais que ne pouvant m’ élever à la hauteur de ce que j’admirais, j’allais rapetisser ce que je voudrais imiter ; nulle part je n’avais été environné de tant d’objets propres à exalter mon imagination.”

And again, “ Ces monumens, qui imprimaient le respect dû au sanctuaire de la divinité, étoient les livres ouverts où la morale était dictée, ou la science était développée ; tout parlait, tout était animé dans le même esprit.”

It is at Dendéra that all travellers agree that we must seek for the ancient pattern of the several orders, and the most striking beauties of Grecian architecture. In this art, as well as most others, the Egyptians have been the instructors of mankind.

In this temple of Dendéra exists a monument, on which much has been written to very little purpose. It is the representation of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, by which name it is known, placed six to the right and six to the left, but so situated that those of the left seem as if issuing from the temple, while those on the right appear as if coming into it. They have besides the peculiarity of exhibiting the Lion as the first sign, and the Crab as

the last. The other is a kind of representation of a planisphere, in the ceiling of the small apartment, at the extremity of the temple, and round both a great number of hieroglyphics are seen.

Another such Zodiac, as it was pretended, is found at Esné, which the Egyptians called Sné, or Sná, where there was a magnificent temple consecrated to Ammon, the god, the creator of eternal light. This monument, like that of Dendéra, is represented as a specimen of the high perfection to which the Egyptians had carried architecture, and exhibited in its plan, distribution, and ornaments, one of the most beautiful models, equal in majesty and elegance to the most famed buildings of Greece.

This monument, like that of Dendéra, is of a modern date, and both belong to the period during which Egypt was a province of the Roman empire; because the hieroglyphics which surround them, and which hitherto have been considered as containing an astronomical legend, merely exhibit the names of some of the Roman emperors, such as Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Domitian, and others.

Besides these monuments, still existing in their original situation, there are others that, from time to time, the rapacious hands of conquerors and travellers have imported into different countries. The Roman emperors removed to Rome not less than four obelisks, all of which are still to be seen in that ancient capital of the world. Mr. Bankes

removed the obelisk of Philœ, which now graces the grounds of his estate in Wales. Belzoni opened one of the tombs belonging to the Pharaohs in the vale of Thebes, and brought to England the celebrated sarcophagus of white alabaster; he even removed the cover of the other sarcophagus, which contained the mummy of the Pharaoh Rameses Meiamon, and presented it to the university of Cambridge; other travellers have procured and brought to this country, as well as to others, statues, papyries, inscriptions, mummies, and monuments of all sorts, which are found in several museums, and particularly in the British Museum, the Museum of Paris, the Museum of Turin, perhaps the richest of all, and the Vatican library; and, last of all, the French commission, sent by Napoleon to Egypt, has given so many accurate fac similies of most of the principal monuments still existing in Egypt, and brought over so many and various monuments of Egyptian antiquity, as to allow our learned men to become quite familiar with the characters, and, by dint of labour, with their subject and meaning.

Among these monuments, the most important one, indeed, which has produced the whole of the discoveries made in decyphering hieroglyphics, is the celebrated Rosetta stone, which, by the gallantry of our army, now decorates the British Museum. It is a huge broken stone, of black colour, discovered by the French in digging for the foundation of Fort St. Julian, near Rosetta, and it contains an inscription in three several languages,

or rather three different sets of characters; one in Greek, the second in hieroglyphics, and a third in a sort of running hand resembling the Hebrew letters, which were, in fact, the common characters of the country.

It is this precious relic which has produced the greatest literary discovery of the age, perhaps the greatest of any age—our knowledge in the reading of the hieroglyphics. This I shall explain in my next Lecture.

Another monument of great interest, and, without doubt, of equal importance to ascertain the history of Egypt, was brought to light by Mr. William Bankes, while endeavouring to obtain the accurate plan of the extensive ruins of Abydos. This ancient and formerly splendid city lies on the western coast of the Nile, between the 27th and 28th degree north latitude, and near the entrance of the great Oasis. On the wall of one of the lesser buildings, quite distinct from the principal pile, was found a legend, or a series of forty ovals, or rings, arranged in three long horizontal lines, each containing the mystic or honorary titles of the Pharaohs, who lived before Rameses the Great, whose name is the last, and fills the whole of the third line.

These mystic titles, by their variety, evidently shew that they belonged to different Pharaohs, and have greatly assisted our antiquaries in ascertaining the order of succession to the throne of Egypt, which is found to correspond with the chronological canon

of Manetho. It is a great pity that a portion of the wall, on which this important monument is engraved, is in two places in ruin, so as to produce a mutilated legend; but as far as it goes, I have no hesitation to assert, that this genealogical table of Abydos is as important to history, as the Rosetta stone has been to the decyphering of hieroglyphics.

In considering these astonishing productions, we must really wonder how a nation, which was once so great as to erect these stupendous edifices, could so far fall into oblivion, that even their language and method of writing are unknown to us. But our wonder will increase, if possible, to a higher degree, when we take into consideration the materials which have been so modelled. They had only four sorts of stones in general use for sculpture; the sandy, the calcareous, the breccia, and granite; all, except the first, are very hard; and what is most singular, we do not know with what tools they were cut out. We know by experience that the tools of the present day will not cut granite without great difficulty; and Belzoni, who had made so many experiments on this stone, doubts whether we could give it the smoothness and surface we see in Egypt. On the calcareous stone, the figures have angles so sharp, that the best-tempered chisel of our time could not produce the like. It is so hard, that it breaks more like glass than stone. And yet, with these materials they have produced the most exquisite speci-

mens of architecture and sculpture; for in both these arts their productions have a boldness of execution that has never been equalled by any other nation of the universe. The gigantic statues of Greece and Rome are but dwarfs and pigmies when compared to those of Karnac, Louqsor, Esné, Dendéra, and, indeed, of the whole of Egypt and Nubia.

They had made besides considerable progress in several manufactures, to a degree which is really astonishing. Their linen manufacture had a perfection equal to our own. For in many of their figures we observe their garments quite transparent; and among the folding of the mummies Belzoni observed cloth quite as fine as our common muslin, very strong, and of an even texture. They had also the art of tanning leather, and staining it with various colours, as we do morocco; and actually knew the mode of embossing on it. Many specimens of the sort have been found with figures impressed on the leather quite elevated. The same must be said of their art in making glass, some of which was of a beautiful black colour, and so perfect as to resemble the natural obsidian. Of such glass was made the celebrated statue of Menelaus. This information we gather from Pliny, who makes use of this observation, to prove that the art of manufacturing glass was very ancient.

Besides enamelling, the art of gilding was in great perfection among them, and they knew how to beat gold nearly as thin as ours; for Belzoni found many ornaments of the kind, and a leaf of

gold, which appeared to him extremely pure, and of a finer colour than is generally seen in our own. They knew also how to cast copper and form it into sheets, and had a metallic composition not unlike our lead, rather softer, but of greater tenacity. Carved works were very common, and in great perfection, particularly in the proportion of their figures; and the art of varnishing and baking the varnish on clay, was in such perfection, that the most enlightened travellers have doubted whether it could be imitated at present. I have already noticed their skill and success in painting, and in the blending of the colours; and, indeed, the more I read and consider what they have done, and what they were capable of doing, the more I am lost in amazement; for as most of their stupendous works are of the highest antiquity, they must have been the production of their artists during the hieratic government, and so near to the deluge, that, even adopting our older system of the Septuagint chronology, a man can scarcely conceive how a nation could, in so short a time, render habitable the whole valley of the Nile, and acquire such knowledge, and make so great a proficiency in most sciences, in most manufactures, and in all the arts.

But I must conclude my Lecture.

I have alluded to such particulars, and mentioned such names as it is necessary you should be acquainted with, before I enter upon what can properly be called the subject of hieroglyphics. Much of this knowledge many of you may be al-

ready familiar with; but this you will excuse. I have dwelt, however, at great length on the ruined temples and cities that Egypt now offers to the inspection of travellers; and I have alluded to the accounts that have been given of them, not only to enable you the better to understand such references as I may hereafter make to them, but to impress upon your minds more strongly, the interest that belongs to hieroglyphics themselves. Were you, in the wilds of America, to see on the bark of a tree a few characters in which some savage had expressed the ideas of his mind, even these, however rude, would not be without interest to you. But very different must be the interest that belongs to any unknown characters, which have been traced to those who can be shewn to have been a highly civilized people, and who have been always considered as the instructors of the ancient world. Such characters have ever been, and must always be, the subject of rational curiosity; and it is not at all wonderful to see the interest which hieroglyphics have excited of late years, when new prospects seemed to open, and better chances to offer, of comprehending their meaning. The great neighbouring nation of Europe has not been wanting to its own glory on this occasion, and you are not likely to be outdone in so generous a course. Speaking of you as a nation, and speaking with those general views to which a foreigner like myself may pretend, I should say, that rational curiosity is one of those qualities by which you are

honourably distinguished. Your travellers pervade every portion of the globe; wherever light can penetrate, or air can circulate, there are they to be found. They even invade the regions of winter, where Nature seems to have forbidden the existence of man; and the voyager has only to relate the resistance that he has made to her unalterable decrees. Africa too, like the Pole,—I speak not of the two Americas, of Europe, or of India,—equally sees your adventurous travellers, who return to report her hitherto inaccessible wonders, or perish in the attempt.

You realize the description of the poet :

————— What seasons can controul,
What fancied zone can circumscribe the soul,
Who, conscious of the source from whence she springs,
By reason's light, on resolution's wings,
Spite of her frail companion, dauntless goes
O'er Libya's deserts, and through Zembla's snows ?

Great as your nation may be, and distinguished among the nations of the earth, this rational curiosity is one of its highest attributes; and I cannot suppose for a moment that this ennobling quality will desert you, when any subject, like that of hieroglyphics, is presented to your consideration; a subject so connected with a country where once were to be found, as among you may be found now, so much of the knowledge and the science, the power and the civilization, the fame and the glory, of the world.

APPENDIX TO LECTURE I.

THE following account, which is extracted from one of the Letters of M. Champollion, published in the Literary Gazette, may serve as a further illustration of the high degree of civilization of the ancient Egyptians.

Amongst the tombs at Beni-Hassan, M. Champollion has found drawings highly interesting, which give such full particulars of the progress that the Egyptians had made in the different professions, arts, and manufactures, as to make us acquainted with the smallest detail of the mode they pursued in agriculture, in the several arts and trades, in their military education ; in singing, music, and dancing ; in the rearing of their cattle ; in ichnography, that is, portrait painting ; in games, exercises, and diversions ; in domestic justice, and household economy ; in historical and religious monuments ; navigation, and zoology.

The drawings belonging to *Agriculture*, exhibit the tilling the ground either with oxen or by hand, sowing, treading the ground by rams, and not by hogs, as Herodotus says ; five sorts of ploughs, the use of the pick-axe, the reaping of wheat, the gathering of flax, the putting these two kinds of plants into sheaves, the carrying to the mill, the threshing, measuring, storing in the granaries, which, as it appears from the drawings, were made on two different plans ; the flax carried by asses, the gathering of the lotus, the

culture of the vine, the vintage, carrying the grapes, two different sorts of presses, one worked by the hand, the other by mechanism; putting the wine into bottles or jars, the gathering of figs, the cultivation of onions, irrigation of the land, and other such exhibitions, containing explanatory hieroglyphic inscriptions.

In *Arts and Trades*, M. Champollion has already formed a collection of pictures for the most part coloured, in order to determine the nature of the objects, and representing the sculptor in stone, the carver in wood, the painter of statues, the painter of architecture, furniture, and cabinet-work of all kinds; a painter with his easel painting a picture; scribes and clerks of all descriptions; waggons conveying blocks of stone; the art of pottery, with all the operations; the cutting of wood, makers of oars, cabinet-makers, carpenters, sawyers, curriers; the staining of common leather and morocco; shoe-making, spinning, weaving, glass-worker, and all his operations; goldsmith, jeweller, smith, and the like.

In *Military education and tactics*, the collection is equally splendid. It consists of several drawings, exhibiting all their gymnastic exercises, represented in above 200 pictures shewing all the positions and attitudes of two wrestlers, attacking, defending, retreating, advancing, standing, and thrown down; and by them, says Champollion, "you will see whether the Egyptian artists were contented with figures in profile, the legs joined, and the arms pinioned against the side." Besides copying the whole of these soldiers wrestling together, that indefatigable Frenchman has also copied sixty figures, representing soldiers of all arms, a siege, a field of battle, the tortoise, the ram, the military punishments, the preparations for a military repast, and the manufacture of lances, bows, arrows, clubs, battle-axes, &c.

The collection belonging to *Singing, Music, and Dancing*,

consists of pictures representing a concert of vocal and instrumental music; a singer, accompanied by a musician on the harp, is supported by two chorusses, one of four men, the other of five women, the latter beating time with their hands. It is a complete opera; players on the harp of both sexes, players on the German flute, flageolet, on a sort of shell; dancers, forming various figures, with the names of the steps which they dance; and the female dancers of ancient Egypt, dancing, singing, playing at tennis, and performing various feats of strength and address.

The drawings representing the *rearing of cattle*, exhibit herdsmen, all kinds of oxen, cows, calves, milking, making cheese and butter, goatherds, ass-drivers, shepherds with their sheep, scenes relative to the veterinary art; poultry-yard, containing numerous species of geese and ducks, and a kind of swan, which was domestic in ancient Egypt.

The drawings relative to *games, exercises, and diversions*, are particularly curious. Among them there is the exhibition of the *Morra*, the game which is so popular in Italy, particularly in Naples: the drawing straws, a kind of hot-cockles; the mall, the game of piquets planted in the ground, the hunting of the fallow-deer, a picture, representing a grand chase in the desert, in which are depicted between fifteen and twenty species of quadrupeds; pictures of the return from the sport, game carried, dead or alive; several pictures of catching birds with nets, or with snares; drawings relative to fishing, with angling-rod, with the trident, or bident, nets, and the like.

The pictures exhibiting the exercise of *domestic justice*, consist of fifteen drawings of basso relievos, representing offences committed by servants, the arrest of the offender, his accusation and defence, his trial by the intendants of the household, his sentence, and the execution, which is confined to the bastinado, the account of which is deli-

vered, with the documents of the proceedings, into the hands of the master, by the intendants of the household.

Domestic economy, is divided into ten different heads; and the drawings which represent them are very curious. The *first* division consists of pictures of several houses, more or less sumptuous; the *second* of vases of different forms, utensils, and moveables, all coloured, because the colours invariably indicate the materials of which they are composed. The *third* division contains the drawing of a superb palanquin. The *fourth* a kind of room, with folding doors, carried on a sledge, which served the great men of Egypt, in former days, for carriages. The *fifth* consists of pictures of monkeys, cats, and dogs, as well as the dwarfs and other deformed individuals, who, more than 1500 years before the Christian era, served to dispel the spleen of the Egyptian noblemen, as well as they did that of the old barons of Europe 1500 years after the Christian era. The *sixth* division exhibits the officers of a great household, intendants, secretaries, &c. The *seventh*, servants both male and female, carrying provisions of all sorts. The *eighth*, the manner of killing oxen, and of cutting them up for the use of the family. The *ninth*, a series of designs representing cooks preparing various kinds of provisions: and the *tenth*, the servants carrying the dressed meat to the master's table.

The collection of drawings exhibiting *historical* and *religious monuments*, consists of inscriptions, basso relievos, and monuments of every kind, bearing royal legends, with a date expressed, as well as the images of various deities.

The department belonging to *Navigation* represents the building of vessels and boats of various kind and size, and the games of the mariners, which, M. Champollion observes, exactly resemble those that take place on the Seine on great holydays.

The last division belongs to *Zoology*, and exhibits a series

of quadrupeds, birds, insects, reptiles, and fish, designed and coloured with the utmost fidelity. This collection already amounts to more than two hundred specimens, and is extremely interesting. The birds, M. Champollion says, are splendid, the fish painted with extreme perfection; there are above fourteen different species of dogs, such as house dogs, hounds, &c. from the harrier to the spaniel.

Magnificent as this account may appear, there is no doubt that it will be considered as very insignificant when compared with the further discoveries which will be made by the indefatigable and learned traveller.

LECTURE II.

Opinions of the ancients concerning the nature and use of hieroglyphics—Erroneous judgment of the moderns—Scarcity of monuments—The Isiacal table—Horapollo—Hermapion—The Rosetta stone—Discoveries made by M. de Sacy, by Mr. Akerblad, and Dr. Young—Enchorial or Demotic alphabet—Attempt at decyphering hieroglyphics—Manner of counting numbers—Interpretation of names—Reflections.

IN my last Lecture I endeavoured to give some preliminary notions of the history and topography of Egypt, and we dwelt at some length on the number and nature of monuments which are still to be found, either in their original situation, or in the various public and private museums of this country as well as of others; but, above all, it was our business to ascertain what were the notions which both the ancients and the moderns entertained of the nature and import of hieroglyphics. The Greeks were fully persuaded that hieroglyphics were a sort of mystic characters, intended to preserve the most important mysteries of nature, and the most sublime inventions of man; they, therefore, considered the interpretation of these characters as exclusively confined to the priesthood, and

even by them very little understood, as their real and primitive knowledge had been lost and passed away, in the annihilation of the power of the Pharaohs, first by the usurpation of the Shepherd kings of the seventeenth dynasty, and afterwards by the irruption of the Persians, under Cambyses. This persuasion of the Greeks arose from their believing, what in point of fact seems to be the case, that Egypt was the parent of all arts and sciences, the storehouse of the most ancient records, and the repository of all the mighty events which had often changed the face of the world. This persuasion, joined to the profound secrecy under which the hierophant, or high-priest, imparted to the initiated in the mysteries of Isis the sublime truths, to which the veneration and credulity of mankind had attached so much importance, made the Greeks to look upon hieroglyphics as the mystic expression of these secrets, so carefully preserved from the people at large, the explanation of which it was impossible to obtain.

What has been said of the Greeks might be applied to the Romans also. They seem to have known nothing about the nature of hieroglyphics. The story itself of a reward being offered by one of the first Cæsars to him who should give a proper interpretation of the inscription on the obelisk which had been carried to Rome, seems very doubtful; but even if we wish to admit the reality of this story, as this reward was never claimed,—and we know of no work, or even attempt made to

decypher this inscription,—we must conclude that the knowledge of the Romans about the nature and import of hieroglyphics was small indeed.

This ignorance and misconception of the ancients must be considered as one of the causes which have tended to mislead the moderns. Finding that all the classical authors of antiquity only spoke of two sorts of hieroglyphics, the one representing the figure or picture of the thing, the other exhibiting the same thing by symbols, they, like the ancients, concluded that each hieroglyphic had a fixed and determinate idea. Misled by this reasoning, they collected from the Greek and Latin authors all the explanations of the signs which had been recorded; and in this way they adopted all the dreams of the ancients; and as these signs, explained by Diodorus, Horapollo, Clement of Alexandria, Plutarch, Eusebius, and the like, were very few, the moderns had recourse to analogy, or rather to imagination, whenever they found any new sign not recorded by these writers; and in this way they added their own dreams to the dreams of the ancients. From this moment fancy was substituted for fact, and the impossibility of our knowing any thing about the nature of hieroglyphics, became every day more apparent, from the perusal of the works of the Jesuit Kircher, the Abbé Pluche, the Chevalier Palin, Count Caylus, and, in short, of all those who had written on the antiquities of Egypt.

It is true, that the acute Warburton, in his Di-

vine Legation, from an attentive perusal of what Porphyry and Clement of Alexandria had said, concluded that "hieroglyphics were a real written language, applicable to the purposes of history and common life, as well as those of religion and mythology;" and that amongst the different sorts of hieroglyphics, the Egyptians possessed those which were used phonetically, that is, alphabetically, as letters. The learned still remained incredulous, and no one ever thought of endeavouring to ascertain what this alphabet might be, or even to apply this conjecture of the learned bishop to the monuments then existing in Europe.

To do so, three things would have been necessary: first, to ascertain what was the ancient language of Egypt, and whether any remains were still to be found:

Secondly, to possess a certain number of monuments, or faithful fac-similies of them:

Thirdly, to have an authentic translation of an original Egyptian inscription, in a language known to our scholars.

But of these three requisites none, unfortunately, existed at the time. Until Quattremere published his work, "*Sur la Langue et Littérature de l'Égypte*," no one ever dreamt that the Coptic language was the language of the old Egyptians. The Copts, or Coptes, are, in fact, the natural inhabitants of Egypt, the only direct descendants of the primitive race. They still speak the Coptic language, though imperfectly; but this

language has been orally preserved among the people, and transmitted in writing, in Greek and Coptic characters, from the first establishment of Christianity to the present day. They have, in fact, their missals, the Pentateuch, and some other works, translated into Greek and into Arabic, and from comparing these translations with their originals, it was evident that the ancient common language of Egypt is not entirely lost.

With respect to the second requisite, the number of monuments then existing in Europe were very few, and mostly collected in particular spots, so as to prevent their being consulted by the generality of scholars; and the impressions and fac-similies of them were much too incorrect to be of any use; nor were even these monuments themselves all genuine. Among those belonging to Egyptian antiquity then known, many were imitations, and many spurious. Such, for instance, are some of the obelisks in Rome, and the celebrated Isiac table so called on account of its being supposed to contain the description of the festivals which were celebrated in honour of Isis and other Egyptian deities. This table, which is of bronze, five feet long, and three feet wide, is divided into several partitions, filled with all sorts of hieroglyphics; and this strange mixture alone, independent of other reasons equally strong, seems to establish the fact, that it is a monument of a modern date, fabricated at Rome towards the latter end of hieroglyphical writing, by some person who knew but little about the science,

but who wished to exhibit some of the strange doctrines, rites, and ceremonies, which had been introduced in the mysteries of Isis, when they were established in Rome, but very different from those once celebrated in Egypt.

It was said, indeed, that this monument had been carried into Italy at the time of the Crusades, by a knight of the family of Gonzaga; but it appears that Cardinal Bembo, only four years after, got it from one of his workmen, who had thrown it away among other rubbish. From the cabinet of Bembo it passed into the museum of the Duke of Mantua, where it remained for nearly a century. At the taking of that fortress by the Imperialists, in 1630, the table of Isis disappeared during the pillage of the town; but it is pretended that, a few years after, it got into the hands of a physician to the Duke of Savoy, who placed it in the Museum of Turin, where, most likely, it remains.

This deficiency of public monuments, and the spurious nature of some of the few which were then known, were strongly felt by our scholars, especially when they had not an authentic translation of any original Egyptian inscription, in any of the languages then known. Had such a translation existed then, it might have helped our learned men to decypher the original, and get at the meaning of the hieroglyphics.

It is true, that amongst the records we have received from antiquity, there was the interpretation which the Grecian Hermapion had made of

the hieroglyphics engraved on one of the obelisks, which, it was supposed, the Emperor Constance had caused to be carried to Rome ; but, unfortunately, the original of Hermapion is lost, and only a part of his interpretation has reached us in the work of Ammianus Marcellinus ; and, what is still more, the learned knew not which was the exact obelisk to which this interpretation applied. Some said that this obelisk was the one which now lies in Rome, before the Porta del Popolo ; others, that it was that which Pope Sixtus V. caused to be erected before the church of St. John Lateran, which, according to Plutarch, had been made by the order of the Pharaoh Rameses, to record his splendid victories ; but recent discoveries have afforded strong reason to believe, that the obelisk now standing before the church of St. John Lateran is a work of a more ancient date, raised by the order of the Pharaoh Thoutmosis, who lived nearly three hundred years before Rameses ; and the one which Hermapion translated, it is feared, has not escaped the ravages of the barbarians, much more destructive than the rapacious hand of time.

Thus, partly from ignorance of the language of the old Egyptians, partly from the deficiency of monuments, and the incorrectness of the fac-similies of the few we had, and, above all, from the want of an authentic translation of an original inscription in any of the languages then known, the labour and ingenuity of our scholars were thrown

away upon speculative and imaginary systems, which led them far away from truth.

There was, indeed, one work, written by Horapollo, under the title of "*Hieroglyphica*," which is pretended to have been translated from Egyptian into Greek by a certain Philip. Although the learned do not agree about the identity and age of this Philip, yet the work might have been of use, if it really contained the true principles of the graphic system of the Egyptians, and the meaning of hieroglyphics ; but this is not the case, for, generally speaking, this work of Horapollo is of a childish and doubtful nature, noticing only a few of the symbolical hieroglyphics, and these not always correct, and mostly belonging to another sort of writing, used, perhaps, in the mysteries of Isis, of which the priests alone had the key.

Things were in this state, and our knowledge of hieroglyphics amounted literally to nothing, when the French government sent an expedition into Egypt, most liberally provided with a select body of antiquarians and architects, surveyors, naturalists, and draughtsmen, to discover, copy, and carry away all that was fitted to explain the scientific and literary knowledge of that country. On their return they published a splendid account of their labours, in which all the perfection and elegance which can possibly belong to printing and engraving have been exhibited, and nothing can exceed the fidelity and exactness with which the several MSS. and inscriptions have been represented.

Amidst the several monuments which they discovered, in digging for the foundation of fort St. Julian, near Rosetta, they found a huge broken stone of a black colour, which was destined to produce a material revolution in our knowledge of hieroglyphics, and dissipate the dark mist which hitherto had enveloped this important department of antiquity. This stone, which by the gallantry of our army now decorates the British museum, contains an inscription, in three several languages, or sets of characters, one in Greek, another in hieroglyphics, and the third in a sort of running hand, called *enchorial* characters, that is, the common characters of the country. This stone is mutilated in several places. The top part of the hieroglyphical inscription is altogether wanting. The beginning of the second, and the end of the third are also mutilated. But enough was left to give us a proper idea of its purport and contents.

It was soon ascertained that this stone was too valuable a monument to be laid aside; and our Antiquarian Society, fully aware of its importance, had it immediately engraved, and generally circulated. The precious relic soon attracted the attention of the greatest scholars of Europe, of a Porson and a Heyne, in regard to the Greek; and of M. Silvestre de Sacy, Ackerblad, Dr. Young, and Champollion, in regard to the hieroglyphical, and the enchorial, or demotic.

As it was natural to suppose, the intermedial

text of this inscription, which in the Greek is called *enchoria grammata*, or letters of the country, was, after the Greek, that which attracted the attention of scholars, and consequently the first that furnished any precise notions concerning the system adopted by the Egyptians in writing; because the hieroglyphics presented greater difficulties, and the Greek was sufficiently understood, both in England and abroad, to render this part at least of the investigation comparatively insignificant.

M. Silvestre de Sacy seems to have been the first to discover, in the demotic or enchorial text, the groups which represented different proper names, such as Ptolemy, and Alexander, and find out that the different signs in these groups were letters.

Mr. Akerblad, a Danish gentleman, and the Swedish resident at Rome, went a little further. He recognised and separated most of these alphabetical elements from the proper names, but deduced his conclusions from the preamble of the decree, which consists in a great measure of foreign proper names; and believing that this part of the inscription was throughout alphabetical, he never suspected the suppression of the intermediate vowels, according to the custom of most of the Orientals, and even of the Hebrews, and thought that every word was spelt most fully and accurately, without any omission whatever. For this reason, when Mr. Akerblad applied his alpha-

bet to decypher the rest of the inscription, he could make nothing of it, especially as throughout the inscription there is no intermediate space left between two words; but the letters, or characters, follow one another as closely, as if they made one single word; a practice which prevails also in all the MSS. The first important step, however, was made; an alphabet, or something like an alphabet, had been published; and it had been ascertained, that if not always, at least occasionally, the Egyptians employed hieroglyphics as letters, or at least had a kind of alphabet, the letters of which were not much dissimilar from those of the Hebrews. But still the real translation of the demotic, or enchorial text of the Rosetta stone was wanting.

It might have been expected, after the partial success obtained by Mr. Akerblad, that the antiquaries, the chronologists, and the scholars of all nations would have united heart and hand in a common effort to conquer all the difficulties which still presented themselves, to get at the solution of the grand problem, which was still to be solved concerning the antiquities of Egypt. But it seems that for some time the labours of Akerblad remained, if not unnoticed, at least without producing the effect which might have been expected, till the year 1814, when Dr. Young published, in the *Archæologia*, an improvement on the alphabet of Akerblad, and a translation of the Egyptian inscription placed by the side of the Greek, but distinguishing the contents of the different lines

with as much precision as his materials had enabled him to obtain. It was then ascertained that these inscriptions contained a decree of the Egyptian priests, solemnly assembled in the temple, who inscribe on this stone, as a public expression of their gratitude, all the events of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, his liberality to the temples, and to the gods; his success against his rebellious subjects, his clemency towards some of the traitors, his measures against the fatal consequences of the excessive inundations of the Nile, his care to remedy the damage which had already taken place, and his munificence towards the college of the priests, by remitting the arrears of several years' payment of taxes owed to the treasury.

As the language in which this account is given is rather curious, I will read the introduction, and give you an account of this decree, to enable you to form an idea of the style of writing in use at that time, and of the extraordinary titles assumed by the rulers of Egypt. They are not unlike those which, even at this moment, are used by the Turks, the Persians, the Chinese, in short, by all the Orientals.

“ In the ninth year, on the fourth day of Xanthicus, the eighteenth of the Egyptian month Mechir, of the young king who received the government of the country from his father, lord of the asp-bearing diadems, illustrious in glory, who has established Egypt; the just, the beneficent, the pious towards the gods; victorious over his ene-

mies, who has improved the life of mankind, lord of the feasts of thirty years; like Vulcan the mighty king, like the sun, the mighty king of the upper and lower countries; the offspring of the parent-loving gods, approved by Vulcan, to whom the sun has given the victory; the living image of love, the offspring of the sun, Ptolemy, the ever-living, beloved by Vulcan, the god illustrious, munificent; the son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the parent-loving gods; the priest of Alexander and the saviour gods, and the brother gods, and the gods beneficent, and the parent-loving gods, and the king Ptolemy, the god illustrious, beneficent, being Aëtus, the son of Aëtus; Pyrrha, the daughter of Philinus, being the prize-bearer of Berenice the beneficent; Areia, the daughter of Diogenes, being the bearer of baskets of Arsinoe the brother-loving; Irene, the daughter of Ptolemy, being priestess of Arsinoe the parent-loving; it was this day decreed by the high-priests, the prophets, those who enter the sacred recesses to attire the gods, the wing-bearers, and the sacred scribes, and the rest of the priests who came from the temples of Egypt, to meet the king at the assembly of the assumption of the lawful power of king Ptolemy, the ever-living, beloved by Vulcan, the god illustrious, munificent, succeeding his father; and who entered the temple of Memphis, and said: Whereas king Ptolemy, the ever-living, the god illustrious, munificent, son of king Ptolemy and queen Arsinoe, the parent-loving gods, has given largely to the

temples of Egypt," &c. Thus enumerating all the warlike and benevolent deeds of Ptolemy, which they now wish to remunerate by ordering, "that the honours at present paid to king Ptolemy be augmented greatly; that there shall be erected an image of king Ptolemy the ever-living, the god illustrious and munificent, which shall be called sacred to Ptolemy, studious of the prosperity of his country; to Ptolemy, who has fought for Egypt, and to the image the greatest god of the temple shall offer the trophies of victory, in each and every temple, in the most conspicuous place in the temple; all which things shall be arranged according to the custom of Egypt."

Then follow the ceremonies which are to be observed, the appointment of the time in which they are to be performed, and of the priests who are to celebrate these ceremonies "with sacrifices, libations, and other honours;" permitting "that the same festival may be celebrated with proper honours by other individuals," and that they may consecrate, in like manner, a golden shrine to the god illustrious and munificent, with due respect, keeping it in their houses, observing the assemblies and feasts, as appointed, every year; which shall be done in order that it may be made manifest that the inhabitants of Egypt honour the god illustrious and munificent, as it is just to do."

And the whole concludes by ordering that "this decree shall be engraved on a hard stone, in sacred characters, in common characters, and in Greek;

and placed in the first temples, and in the second temples, and in the third temples, wherever may be the sacred image of the king, whose life is for ever."

Such are the contents of this curious monument, which, in the hands of our learned men, has turned out to be the link that connects the antiquities of Egypt with our own times. It belongs to a species of monuments which were by no means uncommon in Egypt. M. Champollion, in his first letter to the duke of Blacas, gives an account of a group now existing in the Museum of Turin, representing the Pharaoh Horus, one of the princes of the eighteenth dynasty, and of his daughter Tmauhmot, at the foot of which there is an inscription of twenty-six lines, in hieroglyphical characters ; which, as is the case with the Rosetta stone, is a decree, or a resolution, adopted by authority, enumerating all the benefits which king Horus had done to Egypt, and ordering that his image, as well as that of his daughter, should be placed in a conspicuous part of the temple, there to receive the honours which are specified in the decree ; and concluding with an order to the priests, who are to take care of these images, and to perform, in their honour, some peculiar ceremonies.

Of this monument I shall have to speak more at length ; I mention it here, merely to shew that decrees and inscriptions like that exhibited by the Rosetta stone, were by no means of rare occurrence. For the inscription engraved round

the throne of Horus is perfectly similar to that of the Rosetta stone, in favour of Ptolemy Epiphanes, both in regard to the general divisions of the two texts, and the employment of the same principal ideas, is a striking proof that the Egyptians, from time immemorial, had adopted the custom of preserving the memory of the religion and piety of their sovereigns, and of the benefits which they had bestowed on the people. This curious fact shews also that the worship of kings, and a priesthood attached to this worship, in Egypt, had preceded, by centuries, the arrival of Alexander; and that the Grecian princes who, after him, reigned over that country, endeavoured as much as possible to follow the customs which had been sanctioned by a long series of ages, without making any alteration in the form of government, as well as the religion, which the Pharaohs had introduced.

But to return. The method pursued by our learned men in this herculean task of decyphering the Rosetta stone, deserves to be noticed: it may serve to give you a proper idea of the infinite labour to which they have been obliged to submit; a labour which at first seemed calculated to deter the most indefatigable scholar. Figure to yourself, for a moment, the fashion introduced of writing the English language with the omission of most of its vowels, and then suppose our alphabet to be entirely lost or forgotten, a new mode of writing introduced, letters totally different from those we

use, and then conceive what our labour would be, if, after the lapse of 1500 years, when the English language, by the operation of ages, and the intercourse with foreigners, was much altered from what it now is, we should be required, by the help of a Greek translation, to decypher a bill of parliament written in this old, forgotten, and persecuted alphabet, in every word of which we should find, and even this not always, the regular number of consonants, but most of the vowels left out. And yet this is precisely what our learned antiquarians have been obliged to do. The Egyptians, like most of the Orientals, left out many of their vowels in writing. The enchorial, or demotic alphabet, which they used, has been laid aside since the second or third century of our era. From that time to this, that is, for nearly 1600 years, the Coptic alphabet has been used; and yet in this Coptic language, and in these very enchorial or demotic characters, was engraved on the Rosetta stone the inscription which they have decyphered. The method, therefore, followed by these learned men, in so arduous an undertaking, deserves to be noticed. A short account is given by Dr. Young himself, in the fourth volume of the Supplement of the Encyclopædia Britannica: the only fault it has, is, that after the manner of great discoverers, he has made it too short. I shall endeavour to supply the deficiency.

From the concluding line of the Greek inscription, it was natural to suppose that the three in-

scriptions engraved on this stone were translated from the same original ; and though it was impossible to ascertain which of them was the original, yet it seemed evident that two, at least, were but a translation of the third. As the demotic characters shewed something like the shape of letters, it was shrewdly suspected that they might have been used as an alphabet. By comparing, therefore, its different parts with each other, and with the Greek, it was observed that the two groups in the fourth and seventeenth lines of the Greek inscription, in which *Alexander* and *Alexandria* occur, corresponded with two other groups in the second and the tenth line of the demotic inscription. These two groups, therefore, were considered as representing these two names, and thus not less than seven characters, or letters, were ascertained.

Again, it was observed that a small group of characters occur very often in almost every line. At first it was supposed that this group was either a termination, or some very common particle ; and after more words had been identified, it was found to mean the conjunction *and*.

It was then observed, that the next remarkable collection of characters was repeated twenty-nine or thirty times in the enchorial inscription ; and nothing was found to occur so often in the Greek, except the word *king*, which, with its compounds, is repeated about thirty-seven times.

A fourth assemblage of characters was found

fourteen times in the enchorial inscription, agreeing sufficiently well in frequency with the name of *Ptolemy*, which occurs eleven times in the Greek, and generally in passages corresponding to those of the enchorial text, in their relative situation ; and by a similar comparison the name of *Egypt* was also identified.

Having thus obtained a sufficient number of common points of subdivision, the next step was to write the Greek text over the enchorial, in such a manner that the passages ascertained should coincide as nearly as possible ; taking, however, a proper care to observe, that the lines of the demotic, or enchorial inscription, are written from right to left, while those of the Greek run in a contrary direction, from left to right. At first sight this difficulty seemed very great ; but it was conquered by proper attention and practice ; because, after some trouble, the division of the several words and phrases plainly indicated the direction in which they were to be read. Thus it was obvious that the intermediate parts of each inscription stood then very near to the corresponding passages of the other.

By means of this process, Mr. Akerblad, M. De Sacy, and Dr. Young, succeeded in decyphering the inscription engraved on the Rosetta stone, in the enchorial or common characters of Egypt ; and thus they obtained a sort of alphabet which might aid them in future researches, and which Dr.

Young published in the sixth number of the *Museum Criticum*, in May, 1814, together with the translation of the inscription itself, and a very interesting correspondence which had taken place between him and the above-mentioned distinguished foreigners.

It is not in the nature of human efforts, that the first discovery in any of our attempts after knowledge, should be faultless and complete; and we must, therefore, not be surprised at a few inaccuracies, arising from scanty materials, in this first gigantic attempt at decyphering hieroglyphics. It is true, the opinion that hieroglyphics occasionally represented letters, was by no means new: Clemens and Porphyry, amongst the ancients, had stated this to be the fact, seventeen centuries ago; but still the precious truth had been disregarded by most, if not all, our antiquarians, and no one before Akerblad and Dr. Young ever thought of applying himself to find out the key that might lead him to the greatest desideratum of all, the discovery of this alphabet; although, as I have observed already, this same assertion had been repeated by several modern writers, who had expressly stated that hieroglyphics constituted a real written language, applicable to all pursuits of common, as well as public and scientific life, and particularly by Warburton, Zoëga, and Professor Vater, who, in a note to Mithridates, asserted that the unknown language of the Rosetta stone, and

of the bandages often found with the mummies, was capable of being analysed into an alphabet, consisting of little more than thirty letters.

Things remained in this state for some time, when a curious circumstance shewed to a demonstration, that the demotic alphabet of Akerblad, De Sacy, and Dr. Young, was the true alphabet employed by the old Egyptians. This was nothing else than the discovery of a second stone, formerly existing at Menouf, containing an inscription both in demotic and Greek characters. This stone belonged to M. Drovetti, the French consul at Alexandria; and Dr. Young, who saw it at Leghorn, and very properly considered it as a very important document, the only supplement, in fact, to the pillar of Rosetta then in existence, did all he could to obtain, though in vain, an impression of it. But what the learned Doctor could not get from the illiberal jealousy of M. Drovetti, he got by chance. On his way home, he saw M. Champollion at Paris, who copied for him some parts of a very important papyrus, written in clear enchorial characters; and very soon after, Mr. Grey, on his return from Egypt, left with him a box containing several fine specimens of writing and drawing on papyrus, which Mr. Grey had purchased from an Arab at Thebes, chiefly in hieroglyphics, amongst which were two particularly deserving attention, inasmuch as they contained some Greek characters, in a pretty legible hand.

In examining one of these manuscripts, Dr. Young, to his great astonishment and delight, found that it began with these words, "A copy of an Egyptian writing;" and on proceeding with his examination, it turned out to be a correct translation of the very MS. which M. Champollion had transcribed for him; and both of them, in reality, were nothing less than the copy of the inscription engraved on the stone discovered at Menouf, belonging to M. Drovetti, which Dr. Young had seen at Leghorn.

The contents of this manuscript are of a nature not less remarkable than its preservation and discovery. "It relates to the sale," I copy Dr. Young's own words, "not of a house or a field, but of a portion of the collections and offerings made, from time to time, on account, or for the benefit, of a certain number of mummies, of persons described at length in very bad Greek, with their children and all their households." You will find the translation of this curious document in the account which Dr. Young has published about hieroglyphics, printed by Murray, in the year 1823. The description it gives of the different persons is highly amusing, which is, indeed, the character of the whole work.

The result derived from this second comparison of the Egyptian with the Greek characters, was the identification of more than thirty proper names, and, consequently, of several new characters, which were added to the enchorial or demotic alphabet.

It is now some time since the public prints have announced another trilingual inscription, engraved on a stone in one of the mosks at Cairo. As the stone itself, on account of its position, was not allowed to be removed, a correct fac simile of the three inscriptions is, perhaps, at this moment on its way to Europe. Should it ever reach our shores, I have no doubt that the interpretation will furnish us with further proofs, if proofs should still be wanting, of the correctness and reality of the modern discoveries, which, notwithstanding their success, are still looked upon by some sceptics with an incredulous eye; so difficult is it to convince men who will not be convinced.

With these observations I conclude for the present, at least, our research into the enchorial, or demotic characters. I shall hereafter revert to them again, when I shall have occasion to exhibit to you a more complete alphabet of these, as well as hieratic letters; but for the present we must confine our attention to hieroglyphics, properly so called.

In these, the success of Dr. Young was neither so certain, nor so extensive; yet the merit alone of having first thought of ascertaining, by fact, the opinion of Zoëga and Warburton, to read hieroglyphics, as letters, and actually spell the names of Berenice and Ptolemy, is, after all, so great, as to counterbalance every possible mistake; for it was upon this discovery that M. Champollion afterwards engrafted his system, and was enabled to carry

his researches into Egyptian antiquities, and Egyptian hieroglyphics, to the truly astonishing degree which he has done.

In these tables you will see the illustration of my assertion. [Table 1st, fig. 1 and 2.] In the groups contained in these two ovals, Dr. Young was the first who ascertained that they expressed the names of *Berenice* [fig. 1.] and of *Ptolemy* [fig. 2.]; and what is more, he gave to each hieroglyphic, or character, a proper and distinct value, and an individual import. As the learned Doctor proceeded upon guess and supposition, it could not be expected that he should never be wrong; he, in fact, was wrong in the explanation of some of the characters, but he certainly was right on the whole. In the name of Ptolemy, for instance, [fig. 2.] he read the square for P; the half circle for T; the lion for the syllable *le*, or *ole*; the three sides of the parallelogram for M; the two feathers for E; and the crooked line for *os*; which, altogether, he supposed made up the name of Ptolemeos.

In the name of Berenice, [fig. 1.] he also endeavoured to find out the import of each separate hieroglyphic, and read, or rather suspected, that the box represented the syllable *Bir*; the mouth, or double oval, the letter E; the undulating line the N; the two feathers the C; and the goose the syllable *ken*, or *cen*; and thus he made out the name of *Bireneken*, or *Birenicen*.

In both these ovals, Dr. Young considered the

knot and the *bridge* as useless ; which was wrong, as further discoveries have proved that the first stands for an *o*, and the second for a *k*. And again, he thought that some of the characters, such as the box, the goose, the lion, and the crooked line were syllables, when in reality they are simple letters, as both the names of Ptolemy and Berenice are not spelt Berenicen and Ptolemeos, but *Brnks* and *Ptolmes*, according to the oriental mode of leaving out the intermediate vowels. But we are to consider that this was the very first attempt ever made at assigning a fixed alphabetical value to hieroglyphics ; for although Mr. Banks had asserted, since the year 1818, that the characters contained in this oval [fig. 3.] represented the name of Cleopatra, as we shall see in our next Lecture, yet he had not assigned a characteristic import to any of the signs, nor had he said that each of these signs was a letter. Champollion did so, and it was then that he found that the lion was an L, and not a syllable.

Besides these things already enumerated, Dr. Young also discovered the meaning, and interpreted the signification of seventy-seven more simple characters, and groups consisting of several characters, together with the feminine termination invariably attached to names of females, whether goddesses, private individuals, or princesses, which are the oval and the half circle, a termination indicating the female sex [Table 1. fig. 15.] ; the whole of which he published in the fourth volume

of the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, which I have already noticed.

It is true, that in these important discoveries, Dr. Young seemed to give the meaning of these hieroglyphical groups taken all together, without assigning a proper value to each of the characters; nor did he mark the alphabet of hieroglyphics in the same way as he had done that of the enchorial or demotic: but still it was he who made the first important step; for it was Dr. Young who first ascertained that many simple objects were represented by pictures, that is, by their actual delineations; that many other objects were used in a figurative sense only; while a great number of the symbols could be considered as pictures of no existing objects whatever.

Again, it was Dr. Young who first found out the marks or signs for numbers, that two objects were denoted by the repetition of the same character; that an indefinite plurality was represented by three characters of the same kind following each other; that definite numbers were expressed by upright strokes for units; and arches, either round or angular, for tens, such as I offer you in this table. [Table 1st.]

The units are expressed by single upright strokes, [fig. 4.] and they are always repeated to mark any number below ten, which is represented by an arch, either round or angular, No. *e*. The repetition of these produces the repetition of as many tens up to ninety. A hundred is exhibited by a figure

very much resembling our nine, No. *g*. This same figure is again repeated for every hundred for any number below one thousand, which has a character of its own, to which hangs a cross, No. *h*. Thus to express the numbers two, three, four, seven, &c. alike, we are to mark two, three, four, or seven upright strokes. To signify twenty, or thirty, or ninety, we are to write two, three, or nine, angular or round arches. The Number 42, for instance, No. *f*, is expressed by four arches, which mean four times ten, forty; and by two upright strokes, which make two.

To signify the ordinal numbers, we are to place at the top of each of the numbers the figure marked No. *b*; and thus No. *a* becomes the first, No. *c* the second, No. *f* will become the forty-second, and the like; and if we change this figure into a kind of three sides of a square, No. *d*, then the numbers will signify the first time, the second time, the third time, and so on.

Again, it seems that the same gentleman first discovered the real expression, or hieroglyphic characters, employed to express several letters, such as N. M. P. T. F. as they are marked in the names of Berenice and Ptolemy. They may be, and often are, expressed by other signs besides these marked by Dr. Young; yet it was a great matter, when no one ever dreamt of a hieroglyphical alphabet, to discover a few characters for some of the letters.

Dr. Young also found out, or rather verified

what had already been discovered by Zoëga, in his work, *De Orig. et usu Obeliscorum*, that all proper names were included in a border, a kind of oval ring, or a frame, which the French call *cartouche*. In this assertion Dr. Young went rather too far; because the further discoveries made by M. Champollion have proved, that this ring, or oval, is not a graphical sign, but a mark of political distinction, as it is engraved only round the names of kings and queens, and never round the names of private individuals.

In these tables, for instance, one represents the name of Antinous, this favourite of the emperor Hadrian, from the Barberini obelisk at Rome, which is spelt in two ways, *Antainous* [fig. 5.] and *antns* [fig. 6.], in which latter case it only preserves all the consonants, and the initial vowel, suppressing all the intermediate ones; and the other, No. 7, represents the name of Lucillius, spelt Loikilios, from the Benevent's obelisk.

In a future Lecture, after I have exhibited to you the hieroglyphical alphabet, I shall return to these groups, and explain to you the import and value of each character; for the present I refer you to these groups, merely to shew, that the oval, or ring, was not a graphical sign attending any name, but a mark of distinction, paid only to the names of sovereigns.

Again, Dr. Young first aserted, that all hieroglyphical inscriptions were read from right to left,

as the objects naturally follow each other. This last principle, however, admits of too many exceptions to be received as a rule. For the fact is, as M. Champollion has proved, that the characters are sometimes disposed perpendicularly, and sometimes horizontally, and sometimes both ways. This takes place whenever two, three, or four characters, of different dimensions, happen to meet. Thus, for instance, in fig. 1, the oval contains the name of Berenice, and you find the box, which is B, over the long oval, which is R; then the undulating line, which is N, over two characters, the two feathers, which stand for E, and a kind of bridge, which is a K, and lastly, the bird by itself, which is S. Then follow the semi-circle and the egg, which, as I have already stated, are simple marks of the feminine gender, and, therefore, attached to all names of females.

The general rule, therefore, found out by Champollion, is to begin reading an inscription, whether written perpendicularly or horizontally, from the side to which the heads of the animals are turned; or if, in the inscription, there be no animals, from the side to which are turned the angles, or circles, found in the text. This rule, says M. Champollion, admits of no exception but one, and that is a hieroglyphical MS., in which the characters are to be read from left to right, though the heads of the animals look towards the right hand.

I have dwelt at so great a length on the dis-

coveries of Dr. Young, because I consider them as the first and most important step which we have made in the labyrinth of Egyptian hieroglyphics, and the fundamental stone on which M. Champollion has raised the astonishing structure of his system, which will form the subject of our next Lecture.

LECTURE III.

Continuation of the same subject—Discovery of the name of Cleopatra by Mr. Bankes—Means by which it was obtained—Champollion's publications—Lettre à M. Dacier—Precis du systeme hieroglyphique—Hieroglyphical alphabet—Number of characters—Their meaning—Attempt to account for their multiplicity and difference—Illustrations—Mode by which the Egyptians formed their hieroglyphics—Disposition of them—Examples—General rules—Application of Champollion's alphabet to the reading of the names of the Egyptian sovereigns—Under the Romans—the Greeks—the Persians—the Pharaohs—Coincidence between the Bible and some of the Egyptian legends—Observations.

IN my last Lecture I endeavoured to give you, first, an idea of the opinion which men of learning, of all ages and all nations, had entertained with regard to hieroglyphics; secondly, of the difficulties which this general prejudice of the peculiar nature of hieroglyphics had produced, in diverting from its proper course any attempt that might be made in explaining them; thirdly, I endeavoured to exemplify this assertion, by stating some of the interpretations published by Kircher, Dupuis, the Abbé Pluche, and the Chevalier Palin. In the fourth place, I thought it necessary to call your

attention to the scarcity of Egyptian monuments then existing in Europe, and the incorrectness of the copies which had been made of them ; then I mentioned the principal of these documents, and pointed out to you the necessity of an authentic translation in a known language of some of the Egyptian hieroglyphical inscriptions, which might serve as a guide to our scholars to get at the meaning of the original characters ; for without such a translation it was impossible to make any discovery in the reading of hieroglyphics. I spoke afterwards of the discovery of the Rosetta stone, and of the alphabet of the enchorial or demotic characters, which M. De Sacy, Akerblad, and Dr. Young had found out by comparing the original Egyptian with the Greek translation engraved on this stone, and which enabled the learned Doctor to pursue his investigation in regard to the hieroglyphics also ; I mentioned then the discoveries he had made in spelling the names of Ptolemy and Berenice ; in finding out the manner in which the Egyptians wrote numbers ; in ascertaining that the figures contained in a ring, or cartouche, did invariably form or spell a name ; in establishing that an inscription should always be read from right to left ; and in publishing the meaning of more than one hundred characters, or groups, in the article Egypt, in the fourth volume of the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica.

I also mentioned that Mr. Banks had first discovered, [Tab. 1st. fig. 1.] in the year 1818, the

name of Cleopatra contained in an oval; and the several steps by which this name was first ascertained, deserve to be recorded, since, while they exhibit the progress of the discovery, they furnish also a plain and popular proof of its authenticity.

The account is given in a long note to a pamphlet on the phonetic system of hieroglyphics, published by the late Mr. Salt, our consul-general in Egypt, of which I will endeavour to give an abridgement.

It was a constant observation, that when two figures appear sculptured, or engraved, on any monument, the first, or most forward, figure represented the male; the second, or most backward, the female. In most instances, one figure alone is seen, and then it represents a male; for instances of the female being represented alone are very rare.

It was also observed, that when two figures, or a pair, appear once on an edifice, they were, in the same manner of association, repeated throughout the building; and the same repetition took place with the single figure, whether male or female, to an endless multiplication.

From this circumstance, Mr. Banks suspected such figures to have been intended for portraits, or representations of the founder of the building, or occupier of the sepulchre. To ascertain this point, he caused a search to be made for the original sarcophagus in one of the few tombs at Thebes, where the female figure was seen represented singly

throughout, both on the sarcophagus and the walls ; and, having discovered such a tomb, he, on the granite cover of the sarcophagus, actually found a female figure, habited as Isis, sculptured in alto relievo. This was a strong presumption that the female upon the walls was the same with the female whose sarcophagus occupied the tomb.

Again, he observed, that as the Greek inscription among the ruins of the ancient city of Diospolis Parva, furnishes the only example of the name of a Queen Cleopatra preceding that of King Ptolemy ; so the sculpture on the same building furnishes the only example of a female figure taking precedence over that of a male. By comparing the signs which he supposed to represent the name of the man, he found them to agree exactly with those which Dr. Young had thought must represent the name of Ptolemy on the Rosetta stone ; and Mr. Bankes very properly concluded, that the characters written over the female might be those which designated Cleopatra. This supposition became demonstration, upon seeing that these very names were perfectly similar to those engraved on the obelisk of Philoe. You know, that this obelisk was a monument raised by the priests of Isis, in the island of Philoe, on which they engraved a memorial of King Ptolemy and his two queens, each of the name of Cleopatra, and under which there is a Greek translation of the original hieroglyphics engraved on the several faces of this pyramid. By comparing this transla-

tion with the original hieroglyphics, the conclusion became undeniable, that these signs represented the name of Cleopatra.

Such was the progress of the learned in the science of hieroglyphics, when M. Champollion, in the year 1822, published his first essay, in the form of a letter to M. Dacier, in which he imparted to the public the first solid notions on hieroglyphics. He published as his own some of the opinions advanced by Dr. Young, in regard to demotic characters, and the application of them to hieroglyphics, he began by re-analyzing the characters contained in the oval rings on the Rosetta stone, as well as on the obelisk of Philoe expressing the names of Ptolemy and Cleopatra; and thus by giving a greater latitude, and a more certain, more firm, and philosophical basis to the surmises expressed by Dr. Young and Mr. Banks, he ascertained the real import of the several hieroglyphics which make up these names.

Then turning his attention to the description of Egypt, published by the French Government, he was enabled to read the name of Alexander in the oval, or cartouche, engraved on one of the edifices at the temple of Karnac, at Thebes; and this trial produced the discovery of some new characters. Assisted by these and other discoveries, M. Champollion published an alphabet, in which he gave the import of about one hundred hieroglyphical characters, which were used phonetically, that is, as letters of an alphabet. But as the number

of the Egyptian alphabetical letters was very small,—according to some, no more than sixteen, according to others, twenty-three,—it followed, that several of these hieroglyphics must have been employed to represent the same letter, and used indiscriminately in the representation of this letter. For instance, the letter *a* was represented sometimes by a hawk; at other times by a quail, by the figure of an eye, by that of a feather, of a stretched arm. The letter *s* sometimes by a crooked line; sometimes by a broken one; at other times by a goose, by a kind of star, by a gridiron, and even by the figure of a boy, and so on. To explain this curious circumstance, M. Champollion asserted, that the Egyptians, in wishing to express by hieroglyphics any letter of the alphabet, employed the figure of any object, the name of which contained, either entirely or partially, the sound of the letter which they wished to note. Thus, for instance, the hawk in Egyptian was called *ahé*, therefore was taken to represent the letter *a*, with which it began. A bird was called *halet*, and, therefore, stood for the same letter; the mouth was called *ro*, therefore the figure of it represented the letter *r*, and so on. This was a great discovery, but not the only one which he had made; for in this letter to M. Dacier, M. Champollion also asserted, and proved, that the use of phonetic characters in Egypt must have preceded the empire of the Greeks and Romans: that it must have been more ancient than Alexander; and he annexed to this produc-

tion four tables, containing the names of several of the Roman emperors, and of Egyptian kings and queens, the explanation of whose names seemed to give a greater evidence, a greater degree of certainty, to the alphabet which he also published.

In this letter, M. Champollion had given to the world the first insight on the subject of hieroglyphics; and though his information was not extensive, yet it was of a nature which rendered future discoveries not only probable, but certain; for in this letter, with very few exceptions, we had the ground-work firmly established on which future scholars might lay the result of future research, and by following the light which he had exhibited, they might have proceeded with sure steps through the dark mist of this intricate labyrinth. Important as some of the discoveries are which he published in this letter, it is not my intention to state them to you; because my object is to make you acquainted with another work of this most extraordinary man, which he published in 1824, under the title of "*Precis du Système Hieroglyphique*." It is this magnificent work which has immortalized the name of Champollion, and has secured for its author the respect and admiration of the present and future generations. In this work the critic may, indeed, find a few blemishes, and even the scholar and the man of taste discover two or three hazardous and contradictory notions; but these faults will never prevent the philosopher and the impartial reader from consider-

ing this author as the man who, after the lapse of more than 4,000 years, has found out at last the true key to hieroglyphical reading, and afforded the light which is to lead us through all the intricacies of Egyptian antiquities.

This publication, which even the Edinburgh Reviewer styles "a work beyond all doubt of the very highest interest and value," not only exhibits a clear and comprehensive view of the few results which had been previously obtained, but embraces a great variety of new and important investigations, equally calculated to elucidate the graphic system of the ancient Egyptians, and to shed a strong light upon a portion of ancient history hitherto abandoned to scepticism or conjecture. In this masterly performance, the object of M. Champollion is to demonstrate the following six different points :

First, that the phonetic hieroglyphic alphabet can be applied with success to the legends of every epoch indiscriminately.

Secondly, which is, in fact, the consequence of the first statement, that this phonetic alphabet is the true key of the whole hieroglyphical system.

Thirdly, that the ancient Egyptians constantly employed this alphabet to represent the sounds of the words in their language.

Fourthly, that all hieroglyphical legends and inscriptions are, for the greatest part, composed of signs purely alphabetical.

Fifthly, that these alphabetical signs were of

three different kinds: the demotic, hieratic, and hieroglyphical strictly so called.

And, lastly, that the principles of the graphic system, which he has laid down, and which he proves by a great variety of applications and examples, are precisely those which were in use among the ancient Egyptians.

To proceed, however, with that regularity which is of the utmost consequence in an undertaking of this kind, I shall begin our research by the exhibition of the hieroglyphical alphabet which M. Champollion has published. In this table I offer you the principal characters reduced to our alphabet, or Roman letters. Tab. 2. But I ought to observe, that although the alphabet published by Champollion contained only 134 hieroglyphical characters which are, strictly speaking, phonetic, yet he has found out the real meaning and import of 730 more signs, some of which are symbolical, and others figurative; so that the whole number of all hieroglyphical characters, of every description, amount to 864. Thus he differs from Bruce, who stated them to amount to 114; and from Zoëga, who reckoned 958. M. Champollion divides these 864 characters into eighteen different classes, namely,

Celestial bodies	10	<i>ca 10</i>
Human figures in various positions . .	120	
Human limbs, taken separately . . .	60	
Wild quadrupeds	24	
Domestic quadrupeds	10	<i>8</i>
Limbs of animals	22	

Birds, either whole or in parts	50
Fishes	10
Reptiles, either whole or in parts . . .	30
Insects	14
Vegetables, plants, flowers, and fruits .	60
Buildings	24
Furniture	100
Coverings for feet and legs, head-dresses, weapons, ornaments, and sceptres .	80
Tools and instruments of various sorts .	150
Vases, cups, and the like	30
Geometrical figures	20
Fantastic forms	50
	<hr/>
Total	864
	<hr/>

For the present, however, confining our observation to the number of characters contained in his alphabet, I have to call your attention to several striking and curious circumstances.

The first is particularly so, and that is, that some of the consonants, and almost all the vowels, are often represented by the same hieroglyphical characters.

M. Champollion assigns as a reason for such an imperfect mode of spelling, the diversity of the dialects spoken in the Upper, Middle, and Lower Egypt, and the different mode of pronouncing the words in each of these departments; for, by allowing one hieroglyphic to stand for two consonants, the difference existing in these dialects will disappear in writing. Each people, in fact, would consider

this hieroglyphic as the sign of the consonant they used, and express it accordingly. The letter Π (P), for instance, of the dialect of Thebes, was changed into F, or φ (phi), in the dialect of Memphis; and in the table exhibited by Champollion we find, in fact, that one and the same hieroglyphical character expressed both these consonants, the P and the F, and sometimes the V.

Again, the mouth and the lion are occasionally put one for another; although, strictly speaking, the mouth was the sign of the letter *r* in the Caschmouric dialect, that is, the dialect of Middle Egypt; and the lion of the letter *l* in the Theaic and Memphitic dialects. In this way it is evident that the natives of these places could find no difficulty in reading the words, whether originally Egyptian, or adopted from the Greek, because one of them would have pronounced the lion as an *r*, and the other as an *l*.

The same rule must be applied to the pronunciation of the vowels, which have a sound so vague that they are indifferently placed the one for the other. A single and the same character often expresses, on different occasions, the E or the I, while in others it is constantly employed for the A, or E, or O. But we must not be surprised at this strange permutation; for the different dialects of the same language principally differ from one another in the sound of the vowels. A striking instance of this sort is found amongst all the nations of the Continent, but particularly in this country.

Even now I can scarcely make out the English language as it is spoken in the north and south of the island. A thorough-bred Yorkshireman is worse than hieroglyphics to me.

Another great characteristic, which is equally striking in hieroglyphics, is the great quantity of very different characters which were employed to express the same letter. Some of these were, in fact, represented by ten, twelve, fifteen, and even twenty and twenty-five different figures. M. Champollion, in remarking this great abundance of signs, is of opinion, that their multiplicity arose from their wish to represent the idea by the means of symbols, which might at the same time stand for sounds. "In writing," says he, "the articulated sounds of a word, they chose amongst the great number of characters, which they were at liberty to employ, those figures, which by their form represented the object that had a relation to the idea which these characters were to express." Thus, for instance, in these two groups, Table 6, fig. 25 and 26, which mean a child, or rather a son, an offspring, and which in the Coptic language, is called CE [or se], the Egyptians, from all the hieroglyphics which were the marks of the letter S, employed in preference either the egg-like figure of a grain of corn, fig. 26, which in their language was called *souo*, from the generic name, *siti*, which means seed, or the figure of a goose of the Nile, fig. 25, which was called *chenalopex*, on account of the great attachment which that bird shews for its

young, and consequently we find these two characters standing for the letter *s*.

In the same way, in writing down the name of Noub, one of their deities, to express the letter *b* they employed the figure of the ram, in preference to any other sign, because the ram was, by itself, the symbol of this deity; so much so, indeed, that we find him often represented under the figure of a man, with the head of that animal.

For the same reason, to express the letter *n*, they chose from amongst the several signs employed for the purpose, the sign of a vase, because it was one of the attributes of this deity, to be generally represented with one of these vases lying at his feet.

The lion, which in Egyptian or Coptic, was called *labo*, or *laboi*, that is, valde hirsutus, stood for the letter *l*, as you see in the alphabet; and though this letter was represented by several other signs, yet the Egyptians, in writing the name of Ptolemy, and indeed of all the Roman emperors, always employed the figure of the lion, in preference to any other, no doubt, as a mark of the strength and courage of these sovereigns, as the lion is, and has always been, the symbol of these qualities.

Perhaps here, *en passant*, I might observe, as an illustration of what I said in a former Lecture, that in the Arabic language, the lion is called *lebouah*, which sounds very near to the Egyptian *labo*, or *laboi*, especially, as in the Hebrew lan-

guage, it is called *lébieh*. For the same reason, no doubt, the eagle, which in Egyptian was called *akhôm*, represented the letter *A*, and was always employed in preference to any other sign, in spelling the names and the titles of all the Roman emperors in which it occurred, because the bird was taken as the symbol of the Roman empire itself.

Again, the oval which contains the name of *Tiberius*, engraved on the portico at Esné, and consecrated to the god Chnoubis, the letter *B* of the word *Tiberius* is represented by a ram, which was the symbol of this deity, to whom the temple was dedicated; while in the engraving of the temple at Dendéra, which was consecrated to the goddess *Athôr*, who was in fact the Egyptian *Venus*, the same letter *B* is expressed by a sign totally different, but equally characteristic; and, last of all, this same letter *B* is represented by a small box of frankincense, in the word *Sebastos*, which, as you know, means venerable.

In all these instances, and others of the same sort, which might be adduced, we perceive something like a rule, which directed the Egyptians in the selection of their hieroglyphical characters. But this rule is not always perceivable. In these cartouches, or groups, for instance, Table 1, fig. 2, and 11, which contain the name of *Ptolemy*, the letter *M*, and the letter *P*, are expressed in two ways. In the one, fig. 2, we have the plain square for the *P*, and the three sides of a

parallelogram for the M: in the other, fig. 11, these same letters are expressed by an owl, and by a striated square; although we are unable to find out the apparent reason of this change. The same must be said of the other two groups, fig. 5 and 6, representing the name of Antinous, in which the letter T is expressed by the hand in fig. 5, and by the triangle in fig. 6.

I shall explain my meaning by an example, which will at once shew you the mode employed by the Egyptians, both in imagining and using the different hieroglyphics which represented the same letter of the alphabet. But, before I proceed, I request you will remember, as I have already stated, that to mark or note each letter, the Egyptians chose those objects the names of which began with the sound of that very letter.

Now, suppose we were to imagine an alphabet of our own: to write the name of London, for instance, we might choose for the several letters the following images, or hieroglyphics. For the letter L we might take the figure of a lion, or of a lamb, or of a lancet, or a leaf, or any other such objects, whose names begin with an L. Again, to express the letter N, we might select a net, a negro, the north star, and the nave of a temple. To denote the letter D, we might choose the figure of a dromedary, or a dagger, the deck of a ship, or even the whole of the ship, to signify the deck; and for the letter O we might pick out the figure of an oak tree, an ostrich, an ox, or an owl. Now if from

all these images, or hieroglyphics, we should be obliged to write the word *London*, we ought not to select the lamb, but the lion, as the expression of the letter L, because the lion is the acknowledged emblem of England. For the O we should prefer the representation of an oak-tree, or of the acorn its fruit, as connected with the building of a ship: for the N, you certainly would not pick out the negro slave, for this choice would be quite unnatural, and contrary to the decided antipathy which the English have to slavery; nor would you select the representation of the nave of a church, because this emblem would better suit an ecclesiastical government, and by no possible means could it apply to your nation; but you would choose, in preference, the fishing-net, or the north star, as the only images which would convey to the mind of the beholder two of the characteristics of a sea-faring nation, as the English are. And, last of all, for the letter D, you would, I am certain, decidedly prefer the representation of the whole, or of a part of a ship, as the only image connected with the very existence of the nation. Thus the whole word *London*, written hieroglyphically, would then be represented by a lion, an oak-tree, a net, a ship, and the north star; for, you remember, we have no need to repeat the second Ö.

Indeed, the Egyptians seem to have been so much animated by this principle, as to enable us to find out the archetype of most of their phonetic hieroglyphics. *Ahom*, or *akhom*, was the name which they

gave to the eagle, and the eagle, in fact, is the image they chose, to represent the letter *A*. A small vase, which they called *Berbe*; a cow, which they called *Bahsi*; a little goat, which they named *Baréit*; or even a fox, which they called *Baschor*; were indiscriminately used as signs to express the letter *B*. The figure of an ox, which was named *Kelebin*; or of a hood, which was called *Klast*, or of the knee, which was nominated *Kely*, were all used to express the letter *K*. The hand, which was called *Tot*, became the sign of the letter *T*; the mouth, to which they gave the appellation of *Ro*, was employed to signify the letter *R*; the image of a garden, which was named *Schné*, to exhibit the *S* soft, the *sh* of the English; and I have already mentioned the lion to stand for the letter *L*, from its name *laboi*.

I might give further instances, and go through most of the alphabet; but those I have stated will be sufficient, I hope, to shew you the elements of the phonetic hieroglyphical characters employed by the Egyptians; which, in point of fact, is the original of the method generally employed at the present moment, to teach the letters to our children. To the sound of each letter we join the expression and the figure of an object with which the child is already acquainted, and which begins by the sound of that letter. Every mother knows with what pleasure she has taught her infant to know and repeat the letter *M*, by associating it with the name of mamma,—*P*, for papa,—*N*, for

nurse,—T, for top,—B, for bird,—G, for garden ; which is, in fact, but a repetition of the method first invented by the Egyptians, for the formation of their alphabet. As a general rule, it may, therefore, be said, that whenever we meet with a new phonetic hieroglyphic, the import of which is unknown, we have but to search for the name by which the figure was called, and in ninety-nine times out of an hundred we shall find that the first letter or sound with which this name begins is the import of the character. This, in point of fact, is something like the rule followed by the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac alphabets ; in which languages each letter stands for a name, expressing a particular substance, or a particular object ; and that the very first letter, be it a vowel, be it a consonant, with which this name began, had and preserved the very same sound which it had in its own respective alphabet. One great difference, however, exists between them. In the Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldaic alphabets, we find only one sign for each letter, and this sign invariable ; but in the Egyptian alphabet there are many hieroglyphics, or images, to represent and express the same letter, which images they used, now the one and now the other, always selecting the character which had some correspondence, some relation, some analogy, with the idea, with the object, or with the person, they wished to record, or to express.

Another remarkable circumstance, which deserves our attention in considering phonetic hiero-

glyphics, is, the number of the letters they are intended to represent. These letters are not less than twenty-nine, though I have marked only twenty-three of them, mixing two or three together, in order to simplify the system, by expressing them in our own Roman characters. Now, twenty-nine letters must appear much too many to be the number that was originally invented. It seems but reasonable to suppose, that the first elements of the alphabet must have been very few, and their multiplication the effect of future improvement and discoveries. And, therefore, as it is pretended, and indeed proved, that the Egyptians employed hieroglyphics phonetically, from time immemorial, during the earliest Pharaohs, it has been asked, what was the original number of letters which constituted the Egyptian alphabet at that time?

On this point antiquarians are much divided. Some pretend that their number was twenty-five, and this was the opinion of Plutarch; others that they did not exceed twenty; and others, with much more reason, assert that they scarcely reached sixteen.

The Abbé Valperga, in his *Rudimentum Literaturæ Copticæ*, published at Parma, in 1783, gives an alphabet containing not less than thirty letters, in which he reckons two different *g*'s, two different *v*'s, three different *h*'s, five double letters, and amongst them not less than three different sounds given to *sc*.

But from this extensive number, and from the

circumstance that the first twenty-four letters of his alphabet, are precisely the same with those which we find employed by the Greeks during the latter period of their empire, I am inclined to believe that this great number of sounds, or letters, was imported from Greece into Egypt, after the time of Alexander, when we find Greek names written in hieroglyphical characters. Originally, I have no doubt that the Egyptian alphabet contained very few letters; and as Cadmus carried into Greece only sixteen letters, (for the Grecian alphabet had originally only sixteen,) it seems evident that these sixteen letters formed at the time the whole alphabet then known among the Phœnicians and the Egyptians.

The last circumstance to which I must call your attention, in regard to hieroglyphics, is their disposition when employed phonetically as letters. Sometimes you see them placed perpendicularly, as in these cartouches, Table 1, fig. 3 and 8, containing the names of Ptolemy, fig. 3, and Domitian, fig. 8; and when the legend is of a certain length, these perpendicular columns follow each other regularly from right to left, Table 3, fig. 2; at other times they are placed horizontally, as in these groups, Table 1, fig. 1 and 2, representing the names of Berenice and Ptolemy. But the most remarkable circumstance is, that whether perpendicularly, or horizontally placed, they do not follow one another as our letters do, but they often are grouped together, so as to partake of both these dispositions, and this happens whenever any character exceeds in length or

in height the preceding and the following ones. Thus, for instance, in this group, which represents the name of Ptolemy, [Table 1. fig. 2.] the square and the half-circle, as well as the lion and the three sides of a parallelogram, are placed perpendicularly, whilst the whole inscription runs horizontally. Again, in this other group, [fig. 7.] which marks the name of Antinous, the legend runs perpendicularly, and yet some of the characters are situated horizontally. The same must be said of this third cartouche, [fig. 8.] containing the name of Domitian. The inscription runs perpendicularly, and yet several of the characters lie horizontally; but in all of them there seems to be observed one invariable rule,—that of never allowing the characters to exceed the line, both in height and in length. This is sometimes puzzling; and this difficulty is rather increased to those who are not much conversant with the reading of hieroglyphics, for it is observable, that in horizontal, as well as in perpendicular inscriptions, the characters, and the columns, sometimes run from right to left, and at other times from left to right.

Thus, in writing hieroglyphics, the signs or figures may be placed in four different ways, and often are found so to exist on the same monument. They are either in perpendicular lines, going from left to right, or from right to left,—or in horizontal lines, following the same rule of going now from left to right, now from right to left. And again, as I have already mentioned, the grouping of cha-

racters is often inconsistent with the direction of the lines, the one being horizontal, when the other is perpendicular, or vice versa.

Two rules, however, may be given to determine which way any inscription, or any manuscript, is to be read; the first is, that in hieroglyphical manuscripts the characters are mostly placed in perpendicular lines; but in basso relievos and paintings, especially when they refer to persons or individuals, the signs are situated horizontally. The second rule, equally general and equally useful, is, that any inscription, any manuscript, any legend in short, is to be read from the side towards which are turned the heads of the animals, or the angular edges of the characters. Thus, a line of hieroglyphics is like a regular procession, in which all the images of the several objects follow the march of the initial sign; and it is probably to point out this direction, that almost all the figures of men and beasts, whether birds, reptiles, insects, or quadrupeds, have been designed in profile.

These are the peculiarities which I thought proper to offer to your consideration, in regard to the nature and disposition of phonetic hieroglyphics, that is, of hieroglyphics used as letters. It remains now to prove, that this alphabet suits all the periods of the Egyptian empire, and that by its means we may read not only the legends of the Latin and Grecian epochs, but also those of the Persian and the Pharaonic. You perhaps remember, that the whole period of the Egyptian monarchy is divided

into five epochs: the first is fabulous, begins at Misraïm, and ends at the institution of the monarchy under Menes. During this time, the government was in the hands of the priesthood. The second epoch embraces the reign of all the Pharaohs from Menes, and ends at the irruption of Cambyzes, 529 years before Christ. This is the most brilliant period of the Egyptian monarchy, during which the whole of Egypt was covered with those magnificent works which still command our admiration and excite our astonishment, and by the wisdom of its institutions and laws, and the learning of its priests, it became the most rich, the most populous, the most enlightened country in the world; and to this period, as it is the least known, we shall chiefly direct our attention, in regard to the several points which I shall have to offer to your consideration.

The third epoch, which embraces nearly 200 years, begins from the overthrowing of the empire of the Pharaohs by Cambyzes, and ends with Alexander.

The fourth epoch embraces the reign of the Ptolemies; it begins at the death of Alexander, or rather at the elevation of Ptolemy Lagus to the throne of Egypt, 323 years before Christ, and ends at the death of the famous Cleopatra, when that kingdom became a province of the Roman empire. At this period, which preceded the birth of our Saviour by two years only, the fifth epoch begins, and continues to the time when, about the

middle of the fourth century, the Christian religion becoming the religion of the country, the mode of writing in hieroglyphics was for ever discontinued, and the Coptic characters generally adopted.

Now, if I should prove, that by means of the alphabet published by Champollion, we are enabled to read legends and inscriptions belonging to each of the epochs, we shall be obliged, in the first instance, to conclude, that phonetic hieroglyphics have been used in Egypt from time immemorial; and, in the second place, which is in fact a consequence of the first, that we have at last obtained the key to hieroglyphical knowledge.

In regard to the Roman epoch, that is, the period in which Egypt was held as a province of the Roman empire, from the death of Cleopatra to the introduction of Christianity, we find on several monuments, both in Egypt and Rome, the names of all the emperors, from Augustus to Antoninus Pius, written in hieroglyphics, with the exception of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, whose short reigns prevented the elevation of public edifices, on which they might inscribe their names. The several obelisks now existing at Rome, such as the obelisks of Barberini, Albani, Borgian, and Pamphilian, and a part of the public buildings at Philoe, and the temples of Esné and of Dendéra, are covered with legends, containing the names and titles of Hadrian, Titus, Tiberius, Nero, Claudius, in short, of all the Roman emperors. These legends are all written in phonetic hieroglyphics, and may easily be read

by the assistance of the alphabet which I have produced.

In Table 1. fig. 1. I offer you the name of Berenice; in fig. 3. the name of Cleopatra; in fig. 8. of Domitian Sebastos; in fig. 7. of Lucillius; in fig. 5, and 6. Antinous; and it would have been an easy task for me to have filled these pages with inscriptions and legends dedicated to the other Roman emperors, to their queens and favorites, during the last period of hieroglyphical writing.

Of the Greek epoch, that is, of the period in which the sceptre of Egypt was held by the Ptolemies, a period which begins from Alexander, and ends with Cleopatra, I exhibit these few legends, containing the names of Alexander [Table 1. fig. 9.], of Philip, his father [fig. 11.], of two of the Ptolemies [fig. 2 and 10.], and of Cleopatra herself [fig. 3.]; and these specimens I hope will be sufficient to prove, that phonetic hieroglyphics were used by the Egyptians during this period, and that the alphabet which we possess exhibits the real and true mode employed by them in this extraordinary species of writing.


To this period we must refer the date of the Rosetta stone, which, in itself, is the most convincing argument, that at this time hieroglyphics were used phonetically.


Of the Persian æra there are few monuments left, because few can have been raised. Cambyzes went over Egypt like a ruinous torrent, intent only on destruction, murder, and pillage. He could not

offer to the frightened Egyptians any occasion to raise him any monument on which they might inscribe his name as a beneficent god, a gracious monarch, a protector of mankind, or the father of his people. Of him, of course, we cannot expect to find any memorial, unless it be of execration, which, no doubt, was both loud and deep in the hearts of his miserable subjects. But M. Champollion, in the second edition of the "*Précis du Systéme Hieroglyphique*," which is just published, asserts that he has found, not only the name of Cambyses, but also that of Darius and Artaxerxes, written in hieroglyphics, among the monuments existing in the museum of the Vatican, and elsewhere.


The name of Cambyses, he says, is spelt *Kamboth*, or *Kambeth*; that of Darius, *Ndariusch*; and that of Artaxerxes, *Artakhschessch*. It is to be lamented, that the learned antiquarian has not thought it necessary to publish the characters which exhibit the names of these sovereigns; nor to impart to the public whether there was any title that accompanied these legends, and if any, what they were. For it would be rather curious to observe, at least in regard to Cambyses, whether fear had been able to persuade the Egyptians to stifle, or at least to dissemble, the hatred which they must necessarily have felt towards this destroyer of their country, this scourge of their nation.

Though not able to exhibit the names of these sovereigns, I may at least satisfy your curiosity in regard to Xerxes, one of their successors, whose

name was found engraved upon an alabaster vase, now in the cabinet of the King of France. It consists of seven characters [Table 1. fig. 12.] The first is the Coptic letter , (*chei*), which is pronounced in the throat like the Spanish *j*.

The second is , (*shei*), like the English *sh* in *she*.

The third is an H (*e*, or an *i*).

The bird is an A, the lion an R, and the sixth and seventh are again a , (*shei*) and an A, which gives the name of *Xerses*, as it is spelt and pronounced in Persian, the pronunciation of which may appear very strange to you, *Khsharsha*.

Besides this oval which contains the hieroglyphical name of Xerxes, there is on the same vase another inscription of five characters, which you will observe by the side of the table, and which spell the name *Irina*, answering to the word *Iere*, or *Iramien*, which is the name by which the Persians call themselves.

Besides the name of Xerxes, M. Champollion has discovered, on the basis of two sphinxes which lie in the hall of Melpomene, in the Royal Museum in Paris, the names of two of the Pharaohs belonging to the Mendesian dynasty, the Pharaoh Nephereus, and Pharaoh Acoris, his son and successor.

Under these two sovereigns Egypt enjoyed something like rest and tranquillity. Nephereus, in fact, reigned six years, and Acoris thirteen. It is the longest reign we find among the princes of those dynasties, that occupied the throne of Egypt during this period of trouble and dissensions, from Xerxes

to Darius Ochus, who, by imitating Cambyzes, added at last to the crown of Persia the possession of Egypt, by deluging that unfortunate country with the blood of its wretched inhabitants.

In Table 1. fig. 14 and 15. I offer you the names of these two princes. The explanation of the first two signs which precede their names, does not fall within the limits of the present Lecture, as they belong to another sort of hieroglyphics, of which we must speak hereafter. The four characters which represent the name of Acoris [fig. 13.] spell *Hakr*; the first figure is an *Eh*; the bird an A; the third figure a sort of an *ax*, is a K; the lion an L, or an R; and by supplying the intermediate vowel O, we shall have *Hakor*, of which the Greeks made *Akoris*.

The oval of the fig. 14. contains eight characters: the undulating line is an N; the bird an A; the two lines an E; the serpent a V, or an F; the dart an R; the horn an O; the three lines an U; the last character, though not marked by M. Champollion in his alphabet, is either an E or an I, the *ei* or the *hida* of the Coptic. So that the whole legend will give us the name of *Naifoue*, or *Nai-froui*, which is the *Nephereus* of the Greeks, or the *Nepheretis* of Manetho.

These four legends evidently prove, that hieroglyphical phonetic writing was used by the Egyptians at the time of Cambyzes; I shall endeavour to prove to you, that this was the case long before that Persian conqueror.

The obelisk Campensis, which the emperor Augustus removed from Egypt to Rome, to serve as a gnomon, in the middle of the Campo Marzio, shews on three faces several inscriptions, among which there are the legends which I offer you in these two ovals, or cartouches. The explanation of the first, which merely contains honorific titles, belongs to a future Lecture. The second alone must now attract our attention, as it exhibits the name of one of the Pharaohs, who lived more than an hundred and twenty years before Cambyzes [Table 3. fig. 1.] Of the five figures which it contains, the square is a P, the crooked line an S, the owl an M, the tongues a T, and the bason, with the ring, a K. To which five consonants, if we add the intermediate vowels, we shall have the name of *Psametek*, or *Psameteg*, the *Psammeticus* of the Greeks, a name of one of the most celebrated sovereigns of Egypt, who protected the arts, encouraged commerce, opened the ports to the Greeks, and permitted them even to visit the interior of his kingdom, which his predecessors had most strictly forbidden. This last circumstance has afforded to those who wish to deny the antiquity of the phonetic system in Egypt, with a plausible argument for supposing, that this permission granted by Psammeticus to the Greeks, to visit the interior of his empire, was, in fact, the origin of the Egyptian alphabet; for as the Greeks had, at that time, the knowledge and use of the alphabet, they influenced the Egyptians to follow their example. This objection, I know, has been

made, but I think it perfectly inadmissible, because, in the first place, the evidence of the Greeks themselves, who confess that they received their alphabet from Cadmus, is more than sufficient to make us suppose, that, at his time at least, the Egyptians were acquainted with the use of letters. In the second place, M. Champollion has produced a great number of monuments, legends, and inscriptions of all sorts, exhibiting the names of several Pharaohs who lived long before Psammeticus, written phonetically. From amongst the many which I could exhibit, I shall select the following.

The first is a long legend, which, together with others of the same sort, has been found engraved on a column, still existing among the ruins of the first court of the splendid palace of Karnac, at Thebes.

In this legend we have the names of two of the Pharaohs. The first is the Pharaoh Scheschonk, [Tab. 3. fig. 2. No. 2.] whom Manetho calls Sesonchis, the King. He was the Schischac of the Scripture, who, in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, 971 years before Christ, according to the reckoning of the Hebrew text, "went up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house, and the shields of gold which Solomon had made." His army, as it is described in the Chronicles, consisted "of twelve hundred chariots, and threescore thousand horsemen; and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt; the Lubims, the Sukkims, and the Ethiopians."

The name of this prince, as you see, is spelt as usual, without either of the intermediate vowels *e*, or *o*, and it consists of four characters; the two first (*a*) stand for SC or SH, the long line (*b*) is an N, and the triangle (*c*) is a K; so that by supplying the intermediate vowels, E, and O, we have the name of *Scesconk*, or *Sheshonk*.

The other Pharaoh, whose name appears twice in this same legend, is *Osorgon*, [fig. 2. No. 1 and 3.] spelt *Oerken*, leaving out the intermediate *o*. The knot is an O; the roller [No. 1.] and the cross [No. 3.] an S; the oval or mouth an R; the vase a K; the feather an E; the straight line an N. He was, on the authority of Manetho, which corresponds with this legend, the son and successor of *Scheuschonk*; and he is the same Pharaoh who, in the second book of the Chronicles, is called "Zerah, the Ethiopian, who, with a host of a thousand thousand and three hundred chariots, went against Asa, the king of Judah, and was defeated at Mare-shah."

The identity of these princes seems now established beyond the power of controversy. M. Champollion, in his late visit at Karnac, has discovered inscriptions which establish this fact. I will quote the passage. Speaking of the temple of Karnac, he says, "In this marvellous place I saw the portraits of most of the ancient Pharaohs, known by their great actions. They are real portraits, represented a hundred times on the basso relievos of the outer and inner walls. Each

of them has his peculiar physiognomy, different from that of his predecessors and successors. Thus, in colossal representations, the sculpture of which is lively, grand, and heroic, more perfect than can be believed in Europe, we see the Pharaoh Mandouei combating the nations hostile to Egypt, and returning triumphant to his country. Further on, the campaigns of Rhamses Sesostris; elsewhere Sesonchis, or Shishak, dragging to the feet of the Theban Trinity, Ammon, Mouth, and Khous, the chiefs of thirty conquered nations, among which is found written in letters at full length, the word *Joudahamalek*, that is, the kingdom of *the Jews*, or the *kingdom of Judah*." This, very properly observes M. Champollion, "is a commentary of the fourteenth chapter of the first book of Kings, which relates the arrival of Shishak at Jerusalem, and his success. Thus," adds he, "the identity between the Egyptian *Sheschonk*, the *Sesonchis* of Manetho, and the *Sesac*, or *Schischak* of the Bible, is confirmed in the most satisfactory manner." I admit the truth that Scripture needs no confirmation, but it is gratifying to see even the truth of Scripture vouched and confirmed by profane testimony.

But to return to our inscription. From it we also learn, what, in fact, was not recorded by history. The name of the father of Schenshonk, the chief of the twenty-second dynasty, whose name like that of his grandson, was also *Osorgon*; a custom which seems to have prevailed in Egypt, of pre-

serving the name of the grandfather in his grandchildren.

The remaining part of this curious and interesting legend, I shall explain in a future Lecture, as, some of the characters being symbolical, and others grammatical, they require that I should illustrate my subject with new reflections. For the present it will be sufficient for you to know that both these Pharaohs, Sesonchis and Osorgon, lived nearly one thousand years before Christ, according to the Hebrew reckoning, at which time it is beyond dispute that the Egyptians were in the habit of using phonetic hieroglyphics, and employing them as letters.

Of the same sort are some inscriptions discovered by Mr. Salt, one of which was found at *Medinet Haboo*, and exhibits the name of *Tiraka*, [Tab. 3. fig. 15.], in which I beg to observe a very curious variation, and that is, the horizontal line employed for a T, and becoming one of the synonyms for that letter, which is generally expressed by the figure of the hand. His name, in fact, so figured, was also found in Ethiopia, by Mr. Linant, a gentleman employed by Mr. Bankes to travel in that country, to discover, if possible, the site and extension, as well as the ruins of Meroe. In this inscription the horizontal line is a T, the geometrical figure an I or E, the lion an R, the triangle a K. This is the same *Tirhakah*, king of Ethiopia, mentioned in the Bible, "who came out to wage war against Sennacherib, king of Assyria," of whom some

learned men, of high literary reputation, had been pleased to doubt the existence. He was a contemporary with the prophet Isaiah, and lived full 700 years B. C.

In these other legends, I offer to your consideration the name of two more royal personages of much older date. They are the Pharaoh Ammon-mai, [fig. 4.] the fourth king of the eighteenth dynasty, and his sister, Amousé, [fig. 3.] who succeeded him in the throne of Egypt. The emblem superadded to the ring containing her name, besides the goose, has the addition of the semi-circle, which is always the mark of females; and the respective names, both of her and her brother, begin with three hieroglyphics, which stand for the same letters: the feather for A; the parallelogram for M; the undulating line for N. But in the ring of her brother [fig. 4.] we have the plough and the two feathers, which spell *Mai*, or *Mei*. In her ring we have the cinopœlex and the half circle; the first standing phonetically for the initial of the syllable *se*, or, symbolically, for the very word *se*, or *she*, but always exhibiting the same sound; and the half circle, as I have mentioned in a former Lecture, is the mark of the feminine gender, and shews that the name contained within the ring, is the name of a queen.

One of the names that occurs most frequently, although with a little variation, on almost all the monuments and buildings of high antiquity, is the name of Ramesses, or Ramses; a name which

seems to have been borne by not less than five different Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty, two of whom had been great conquerors, and their memory was highly respected. Whether in more ancient times there had been any other Pharaoh of the same name, I shall not venture to decide, since the monuments which have hitherto been discovered do not mount much higher. But as we find in the book of Exodus, that one of the towns in Lower Egypt, built by the Jews during their captivity, was called Raamses, it is not improbable to suppose, that the appellation given to this town was in commemoration and honour of a prince of that name. It may also, perhaps, be worth noting, that the name of the town of Ramses, which the Jews built, is spelt in the original text by five letters only; a *resh*, or *r*, an *ain*, or *a*, a *mem*, or *m*, and two *samechs*, that is, two *s*'s, making in the whole *Ramss*, which is precisely the way the name of Pharaoh is spelt in hieroglyphics. [Table 3. fig. 5 and 6.]

In both figures the name of Ramesses is expressed by a circle, which is a symbolical hieroglyphic, of which I shall have to speak hereafter, and stands for the letter R. In fig. 6, we have a perpendicular line, which is an A, and left out in fig. 5. Then follows a kind of three-tasselled knot, which is an M, and the four broken lines, each two of which are an S.

To the first of these two great Pharaohs I have just mentioned, Manetho gives the surname of

Mei Amon. This surname, in fig. 6, is made out by the feather, which is an A, by the dented parallelogram, which is an M, and by the undulating line, which is an N, spelling the name of Amon; and the fourth character, a sort of a pedestal, is an M, and stands for the abbreviation of the word or syllable Mai, the whole making the surname of Maiaamon.

This Pharaoh was the grandfather of Ramesses Sethos, or Sesostris of the Greeks; according to Manetho, his reign lasted for more than 60 years; and from the inscriptions engraved on his palace at Medinet Habout, we learn that he was a warrior and a conqueror.

The tomb of this prince, which is the fifth towards the east, is still to be seen in the valley of Bilban-el-Molouk, on the west of Thebes. It is a magnificent excavation, consisting of various chambers. In the middle of one of them there was a sarcophagus of red granite, the cover of which is six feet long, and now lies in the vestibule of the Fitzwilliam Museum, of the university of Cambridge. At the top there is, in alto relievo, sculptured the image of this prince; and round that part of the edge which is whole, there is the inscription marked in Table 2. fig. 7. The name is phonetic, although one of the characters be considered as symbolical, or rather figurative. For, in the second oval of the inscription, marked *a*, the first sign represents the figure of the god Re, or Ra, and, therefore, must be taken as an equivalent

for that syllable, or at least for the letter R, simply; then the knot, as in fig. 5 and 6, is an M; the crooked line is an S, and the next character is equally an S, spelling altogether *Ramss*, and by supplying the intermediate vowels, *Ramesses*.

The other part of the inscription must form the subject of a future Lecture.

To the second Pharaoh I have mentioned, bearing the name of Rameses, Manetho gives also the name of *Sethos*, or *Sethosis*, and Herodotus that of *Sesostris*. He was a warrior and a conqueror, since his image is invariably found in basso relievos, representing battles, sieges, marches, and encampments. He carried his arms to distant countries, as in some monuments he appears surrounded by captives, whose dresses and manners are quite different from those used by the Egyptians. He conquered a great part of Africa, as in other monuments he is exhibited as receiving contributions, or presents of wild animals peculiar to that country, such as cameleopards, ostriches, monkeys, and the like; and the great number of splendid public buildings which he caused to be raised, evidently shew that he must have amassed great wealth, and increased the revenues of the state, at the expense of foreign nations. For the legend of this prince is found sculptured, painted, or engraved in the dedication, and on almost all the parts of the great edifices of Issamboul, Calabsché, Derry, Chirché, and Ovady-Esséboua, in Nubia; on several places in the palace of Karnac, at Thebes; on the

columns and other places in the palace of Louqsor; he is seen on every side, and throughout the edifice, which is called the tomb of Osymandias, among the names recorded in the chronological table of the palace of Abydos, and on several obelisks, which are still in Egypt, or have been removed to Italy.

This is the same Pharaoh Rameses, whom Tacitus mentions in his account of Germanicus, who, when visiting the venerable ruins of the famous Thebes, inquired from the oldest of the priests the meaning of the hieroglyphical inscriptions which covered these monuments; the historian informs us, that this priest said, that they contained the records of the ancient state of Egypt, of its revenue and military forces, and of the conquests of Lybia, Ethiopia, Syria, and a great part of Asia, made by one of their ancient kings, called Rameses. It is, indeed, a striking, and at the same time a gratifying circumstance, that after the lapse of so many centuries, we should be able to read these very monuments which Germanicus visited, and confirm by our reading the account which, according to Tacitus, he received from the priest who attended him.

Since writing the above, the French papers have announced that a papyrus, containing an account of the expeditions and victories of Sesostris, has been found by Champollion, in Egypt, and that the whole corresponds with, and confirms, all that

we knew of this prince, from other inscriptions and monuments, which had been decyphered already.

Something of the same sort about Ramesses Meiamon has also been stated by Professor Seyffarth, in two letters, published in the London Weekly Review of March 14 and 21, 1829. They ought to be consulted ; for, besides the great interest they possess on matters relating to the history of Egypt, they may serve also to give an idea of the high progress which that extraordinary nation had made in all the arts that belong to civilized life.

Among the papyri the learned Professor mentions some, which “ present a diary of the most important events that took place in Egypt ; on the margins are inscribed supplementary notes relating to the affairs of distant provinces ; and have probably been in the hands of Diodorus Siculus.” “ Another papyrus closely written in hieratic characters, contains a complete sketch of the history of Egypt The narrative commences with the reigns of the Gods. Ammon and Vulcanus first ruled Egypt ; and they were succeeded by Ammon-Sol, and so on to Oširis, Typhon, Hovus, &c. during an interval of 13917 years. Thout alone is stated to have reigned 3936 years. Then follow the Heroes, and other sovereigns of Memphis ; which, with the former reigns, make out a period of 23200. The whole corresponds with Manetho.”

We shall see in our lecture on Chronology how these years are to be reckoned.

LECTURE IV.

Division of hieroglyphics—Figurative and symbolic hieroglyphics explained—Legends of some of the principal deities—Amon—Phtha—Neith—Smé—Saté—Rhe, or Phre—Isis—Osiris—Character of this latter in the Amenti—Account of the thirty-two regions in which the souls of the dead might be confined—Mode by which they were tried—Important tenet it inculcated—Origin of Tartarus, Elysium, Pluto, Cerberus, Acheron, Charon, &c.

OF the several legends which I exhibited in our last Lecture, I read and explained to you only that part which contained proper names ; the remaining part, I observed at the time, consisting of characters of a different sort, which required further consideration. It will be necessary, therefore, before I proceed with my subject, that I should make you acquainted with these characters. This will be the object of the present Lecture.

All hieroglyphics, properly and strictly so called, may be distinguished into three different sorts, according to the greater or less degree of similarity they have to the object they are intended to represent. These three sorts are,

1. Hieroglyphics proper.
2. Hieroglyphics abridged.
3. Hieroglyphics conventional.

The figurative hieroglyphics, properly so called,

are those pictures which exhibit the exact figure of the thing. Of these, some are the representation of the object, as it exists in nature, such as the sun, the moon, an ox, a bird, and the like; others, while they retain their original figurative character, are also used as simple marks to denote the species, and occasionally even the genus, or kind.

Thus, for instance, in Table 3, fig. 12. the first characters, taken by themselves, will always spell *Amonmai*, for the feather is an A, the dented parallelogram is an M, the undulating line is N, the ploughshare is M, and the two feathers I. But this word *Amonmai*, without the last sign of the figure of a man, will be a compound adjective, signifying, *beloved by Amon*, a title of honour, which is generally given to all the sovereigns of Egypt; whilst, with the addition of the last sign, the figure of a man, it becomes the name of a private individual.

Again, in Table 3, fig. 8, 9, 10, the first character represents a ship, which is a generic mark; but if after this mark we place one of the groups which follow it, then what is generic will become specific, and signify the ship of Phre, [fig. 8.] the ship of Osiris, [fig. 9.] or the ship of Benno, [fig. 10.] because such is the figurative and phonetic meaning of each group, as I shall explain by and by.

The same must be said of the other two groups, taken from a basso relievo of the palace of Me-

dina Habou, representing a victory of Rameses Meiamoun, before whom they are bringing a number of prisoners. An Egyptian gives him an account of the enemies slain, which he does by counting the hands that have been cut off from the dead. Another Egyptian writes their number, and a third proclaims it. Now the inscription placed over these persons, represents the figure of a hand, followed by the numeric signs which express the number of the hands to amount to three thousand, [Table 3, fig. 11. a.] and immediately after there appears the figurative character of a man, followed by the number denoting one thousand, [fig. 11. b.] which evidently refers to the number of prisoners.

Such are what are designated proper figurative hieroglyphics. The figurative abridged are those which do not give an exact description, but only a sketch of the object: for instance, instead of giving the elevation, or even one of the sides of a house, They give a plan of the interior.

The conventional figurative hieroglyphics, are those which, though very far from representing an object as it exists in nature, yet deserve the name of figurative, on account of their exhibiting the form, which the Egyptians attributed to certain things. Such are, for instance, the characters by which they expressed the firmament; it was neither more nor less than a regular ceiling, sometimes interspersed with stars, and at other times simply painted blue. [Table 3, fig. 13, 14.] Of

the same species are those which recal the idea of their gods, Ammon, Osiris, Isis, Saté, and the like. These characters, in regard to their origin, are symbolic, and as such we shall speak of them by and by ; but in regard to their form, they are figurative, because they mark the exact figure of these gods, such as the nation saw them in the temples.

Besides these three different sorts of hieroglyphics, which all represent the image of the object, more or less accurately, there is another sort, which is called *symbolical*. These hieroglyphics not being able to express by themselves the forms and figures of the thing itself, are made to do so by borrowing the image of another object, which possesses some qualities common to both. This was done in four ways :

1st. By taking a part for the whole : for instance, two hands and two arms holding a bow, and some arrows, were made to express a battle ; a box, with a flame or smoke issuing out of it, as if burning frankincense, represented an act of adoration.

2dly. By taking the cause for the effect ; for instance, to take the moon as the sign of the months ; a reed, with a little box used to hold ink, or other colour, for the act of writing.

3dly. By employing the image of an object to express another metaphorically. Thus, the wings of a bird signify the wind ; the head and shoulders of a lion, force and courage.

4thly. By convention ; when the image of one

object is made to signify another, with which it has no similarity, nor even a distant relation, except what convention has given to it. Some of these may appear real enigmas, and may occasionally require explanation ; which, however, a tolerable acquaintance with the Coptic language allows us to obtain. Such is the scarabeus, to signify the world, or the male nature, or paternity ; a vulture the female nature, or maternity ; a twisted serpent the course of the planets ; a mouse, destruction ; a hare, openness. And, finally, we must reckon among these symbolical, or enigmatical hieroglyphics, those signs which are introduced to represent some of their gods and goddesses ; and this representation may be done in three different ways.

First, by exhibiting an inanimate object, or even part of an animated one, such as an eye, for Osiris ; an obelisk, for Jupiter Ammon ; a nilometer, for the god Phtha.

Secondly, by representing each of their gods and goddesses under the human figure, but with the head of the animal that was consecrated to him or to her. Thus, the figure of a man, with the head of a ram, signified Jupiter Ammon ; with the head of a hawk, the god Phtha ; with the head of a crocodile, the god Souk, or Suchus, something like the Saturn of the Greeks ; and so on.

Lastly, by leaving out, altogether, the figure, and exhibiting only the animal, with some of the divine attributes. Thus, a hawk, with a circle on its head, signifies the god Phré ; a ram, having its horns

surmounted by a feather, or more generally by a circle, Ammon Cnouphis ; and so on.

However ridiculous, or, if you like it best, however monstrous, this combination may appear to us now, it was the consequence of the notion which has prevailed among mankind from time immemorial, that some particular animal enjoyed the protection of, and was consecrated to, a particular god ; it exists to this day in many parts of Europe, and it has existed amongst all the ancient nations. The form, therefore, which the Egyptians gave of their deities, of a human figure with the head of a particular animal, was neither more nor less than what was afterwards practised by the Greeks and the Romans, and after them by the Christians throughout the world. If, instead of placing an eagle by the side of Jupiter, a dove by Venus, a peacock by Juno, an owl by Minerva, a serpent by St. Paul, and a horse by St. Anthony, which are real hieroglyphics, we were to put the heads of these animals on the images representing each of these personages, we should have the exact symbolical characters used by the Egyptians.

With them, however, it seems that the great respect they felt towards the Deity, a respect which has been shared by all the Orientals, might have been the cause which prompted them to express their names by symbols rather than by letters.

Indeed, you may see in Iamblicus, the importance which the Egyptians, and the Greeks who had been brought up in their school, attached to

the names of those of their gods, which they believed of divine institution, full of mysterious signification, and remounting to the first origin of all things. And although we find these mystic names expressed phonetically in the hieroglyphical legends, yet we are to remember that these texts were written by the priesthood, and that the characters themselves were considered as sacred, and peculiarly fitted to be employed in religious matters. This is so true, that in all documents written in the demotic, or common characters of the country, the names of the gods and goddesses were always and invariably written symbolically; just as the Jews never wrote at full length the ineffable name of Jehovah, but always expressed it by a short mark, which they pronounced Adonai. We are even informed by the Leviticus, that the Jews abstained from using the word on any occasion, not only from the dread of profanation, but because it was forbidden by law, under heavy penalties. It has even been asserted, that the pronunciation of this word was lost during the Babylonian captivity.

The Egyptians seem to have had the same religious dread, and consequently to have adopted the same custom. Indeed, Champollion openly asserts that they wrote the names of their principal deity, at least, in one way, and pronounced it in another.

This religious feeling seems to have prevailed among the Greeks also. For in Athens they had a prophetic and a mysterious book, which they called *the Testament*, to which they believed the

safety of the Republic was attached. They preserved it with so much care, that amongst all their writers no one ever dared to make any mention of it; and the little we know of this subject has been collected from the famous oration of Dinarcus against Demosthenes, whom he accuses of having failed in the respect due to this ineffable book, so connected with the welfare and safety of the state.

You know that this was the case among the Romans also, by whom a certain name was held in such reverence, that for want of use it was lost, and is now not known. Solinus informs us that a person named Marenus Soranus was condemned to torture and death, for having incidentally pronounced it. And you no doubt remember the passage in Lucan, that the name of Demogorgon, which the Gentiles had given to the Supreme God, was considered so ineffable, that it was believed the whole earth would tremble if that name were uttered. In fact, the sorceress Erito, to command the obedience of evil spirits, threatens to pronounce this terrible name, as the most powerful charm, which would shake hell itself from its very foundation.

This, however, in regard to the Egyptians, requires a further explanation. Their principal gods were many, and it would lead us much too far from our present subject to speak of them all; I shall, therefore, confine my observations to a few of the principal; to those, indeed, whose images or names often occur in the different legends, as

the protectors of the several sovereigns, or connected with the names of private individuals.

One leading observation, however, I think myself justified in making, and that is, that we are not to borrow from the Greeks our notions of the Egyptian deities, because the Greeks, either through pride or ignorance, or both, endeavoured to find some kind of similarity between the Egyptian gods and goddesses, and their own, when, in point of fact, there is not the least degree of similarity between them. The Egyptian gods were originally but the representation of the several attributes of the Deity; such as his truth, his justice, his mercy, his omnipotence, his power of creation, and his power of destruction, all expressed symbolically, under the signs of those objects which were thought either to possess some great power, or exhibit a remarkable degree of strength, affection, good-nature, impartiality, and the like; although, perhaps, in progress of time, and after the lapse of ages, the ignorant people might have taken them as different distinct beings, actually existing. For it appears to me as clear as possible, that the inventor of the Egyptian theogony admitted and held out but one God, who governed the world by means of his several attributes. In the description, therefore, that I shall give you of some of the principal gods and goddesses of the Egyptian Pantheon, you will always find, that they were but a representation of the attributes, the *Démiurgos* of this Supreme Being, infinite and omnipotent, the

Creator of every thing, the merciful but just avenger of wrongs, whose power continued to be felt by the soul of man, even after death. On the contrary, in the Grecian system the attributes were converted into distinct deities, that no longer appeared to be derived from Jupiter, the supreme god, but exercising distinct and independent functions of their own. Thus Horace, after describing Jupiter, observes :

Proximas illi tamen occupavit
Pallas honores.

This *Démiurgos* of the Egyptians, this supreme god, the god creator of the world, was Ammon ; he was also called Ammon-ré, the same as the ΖΕΥΣ of the Greeks, the Jupiter of the Latins. The Egyptians believed him to have been the Spirit which pervades all things ; the creating Spirit which brought to light all things. He was the god of the Ethiopians and Egyptians, who carried his name and his worship, by their emigration, into Lybia, from the most remote antiquity. The principal places in which he was most particularly worshipped were, the city of Meroe, in Ethiopia, the Oasis, in Lybia, and the cities of Thebes and Memphis, in Egypt. His images cover the magnificent monuments of this ancient city, which, in the Egyptian theology, was called the city of Ammon, which the Greeks have faithfully translated by Diospolis, that is, the city of ΖΕΥΣ, or Jupiter. It is, in fact, to Ammon, or Ammon-ré, that the principal re-

ligious buildings of Thebes are dedicated. His image lies on the Pyramidion, that is, the top of the largest obelisks, such as those of Louqsor and Karnac, as well as those superb monuments, the work of the earliest Pharaohs, which the Romans carried to Italy. The basso relievos still existing, both inside and outside the walls, and round the columns of the temples and palaces of Thebes, represent, in some instances, this god in the act of receiving the prayers and offerings of the Egyptian sovereigns; in others, the Pharaohs themselves, who are presented to him either by the god Phré alone, which is the sun; or by the god Phré and another god, representing the power of Ammon over his enemies, which the Greeks have compared to their Mars. On other occasions he is exhibited as presenting the Egyptian heroes with the sign of divine life, and occasionally welcoming the victorious princes, who are leading before his throne the prisoners they have made, to pay him the proper homage of adoration. It is for this reason that, amongst their titles, the Pharaohs have assumed that of child of Ammon, beloved, approved, or purified by Ammon; as we shall hereafter see.

The name of this god is represented in several ways; first, phonetically, [Table 4, fig. 1.] in which the first three signs preceding the image of the god, are letters spelling *Amn*, leaving out, as usual, the intermediate vowel. Sometimes even the middle letter, that is, the *M*, is left out, which seems, very anciently, to have been pronounced

Amen, or Emon. The second mode of exhibiting his name is figuratively, that is, representing simply the image of the god, without any other sign [fig. 2.] The third mode is symbolically, and this is done either by a human figure, having the head of a ram, or simply by a ram, holding between his horns a circle, or the image of the sun [fig. 3.] Or, lastly, by an obelisk, [fig. 4.] which, being the generic emblem of the Deity, is particularly applied to Ammon, the chief of all the gods. Under the form and with the attributes of a ram, he obtained the name of *Neb*, *Cneph*, *Cnouphis*, and, by abbreviation, *Nef*. He was then considered as one of the modifications, or rather an emanation, of the great Démiurgos, the primitive cause of all moral and physical blessings. He was then called the good genius; the male origin of all things; the spirit which, by mixing itself in all its parts, animated and perpetuated the world. For this reason, in some inscriptions he is represented as presiding over the inundation of the Nile, because this phenomenon, to which Egypt owed all its greatness and prosperity, was considered as a special benefit of the good genius. Sometimes we find Cnouphis, as the good genius, represented by a serpent, a very large reptile, with a beard, which the Greeks called Agathodæmon.

The worship of this god seems to have been principally established in the Thebaid, that part of Egypt which was most anciently inhabited. It is to Cnouphis that the great temple at Esné is dedi-

cated, where the image of this god is seen engraved on the walls and the different columns, receiving the homage and adoration of the sovereigns of Egypt. The small but elegant temple of Elephantina was equally consecrated to this god by one of the most illustrious of the Pharaohs, Amenophis II. son and successor of Thouthmosis, who lived nearly 1800 years before our æra, according to the common computation. This temple, mentioned by Strabo, is still in existence, and almost untouched. The several basso relievos exhibit Amenophis sometimes alone ; at others, followed by his queen, Taia, presenting her rich offerings before the symbolical arch ; there welcomed by the god, who receives him in his arms ; and, further on, presenting him to the other gods of his family, who are equally gracious towards this Pharaoh.

But you will remember, that whether phonetically, figuratively, or symbolically, the name of this god Ammon may be exhibited, the meaning and expression of the sign or signs, is always the same, explaining fully the names of the several forms or modifications under which he was worshipped, as Ammon, Ammon-ré, Nub, or Mendes.

Another great personage is the god Phtha, or Ptha, whom the Greeks have compared to Vulcan, but who is a very superior being to this blacksmith of the gods of mythology. The Phtha of the Egyptians was another emanation of the Démiurgos ; he was a god to whom the priests attributed the organization of the world, and, conse-

quently, the invention of philosophy, the science which exhibits the laws and conditions of the very nature he had organized. He is always represented together with the goddess Neith, who was another emanation or attribute of Ammon, and one of the regular companions of the great Demiurgos. The god Phtha was considered as the founder of the dynasties of Egypt, and the Pharaohs had consecrated to him the royal city of Memphis, the second capital of the empire, where he had a magnificent temple superbly embellished, in which the grand ceremony of the inauguration or installation of the Egyptian kings was splendidly performed; and he was also considered as their protector, by the titles they had assumed of "Beloved by Phtha," "Approved by Phtha," and the like.

His name, like those of the other gods and goddesses, was represented phonetically, figuratively, and symbolically. Phonetically [fig. 5.] it was spelt *Pth*, or *Phth*, leaving out the intermediate A; for the square is a P, the half circle T, and the chain is also a T. Figuratively, by the image under which he was seen in his temple [fig. 6.]; and symbolically, by the figure of a Nilometer, followed by something like the image of the god [fig. 7.]. As he was considered the inventor of philosophy, you will have no difficulty in understanding why the Nilometer had been selected for the symbol of this deity. He sometimes, under a new form, assumes the surname of *Socari*, and then he is looked upon as the director of the destiny of the

souls of the dead, who, according to their merit, are to be distributed in the thirty-two supreme regions, of which I shall say more hereafter. It is for this reason we always find his image among the funeral rites, in the royal catacombs, and on the engravings and paintings which adorn the boxes or coffins, as well as the envelopes of the mummies.

Under this form, his phonetic name is spelt [fig. 8.] *Scri*, that is, *Socri*, or *Socari*, for the broken lines are an S; the vase with the ring, a K; the mouth an R; the two perpendicular lines an I; and the remaining figure is simply a figurative character. His figurative name [fig. 9.] represents him with a peculiar head-dress, placed over the horns of a ram, and holding in his hand a whip; these two last emblems, or characteristics, he has derived from his father, *Amon Nub*, of whose nature he partakes, and, therefore, exhibits his attributes. And, lastly, symbolically, he appears either under the human form, with the head of a hawk, or [fig. 10.] under the simple image of this bird, holding an emblematical head-dress, not much dissimilar from that of his figurative representation.

As Ammon was the supreme deity, the creator of the world, the spirit which animates the whole nature, both male and female, the Egyptians, having considered Cneph, or Cnouphis, as the male emanation of this great Demiurgos, imagined a second emanation, which should represent the

female principle of productive nature. This was the goddess Neith, who, together with Cnoupis, formed but one single being with the great Demi-urgos, who had created and organised the whole. This goddess occupied the superior part of the heavens, inseparable from the first principle, and was considered also as presiding over the moral attributes of the mind. Hence wisdom, philosophy, and military tactics, were departments that had been attributed to her, and this consideration persuaded the Greeks to look upon her as their Minerva, who was equally the protectress of wise men and warriors.

It was before her colossal statues and images that, in the legends engraved on the columns of the magnificent temples dedicated to her worship, the victorious Pharaohs are perceived in the act of striking a confused group of prisoners, who lift up their hands in a supplicating manner.

The first seat of the worship of this deity was in the city of Sais, in Lower Egypt, where there was a college of priests, and a magnificent temple. The inscription which decorated this sanctuary gave a most sublime idea of the creating power of nature. "I am all that has been, all that is, all that will be. No mortal has ever raised the veil which conceals me; and the fruit I have produced is the sun!" Such is the interpretation given by M. Champollion, of the hieroglyphics that compose it. I have not been able to see the inscription.

The goddess Neith was symbolically represented

by a vulture [fig. 2.], the emblem of the female principle of the creation, and consequently of maternity in general. This arose from an idle notion the primitive Egyptians had, that amongst the vultures there was no male bird. Her phonetic name [fig. 12.] consists of four characters. The waiving line an N, the two feathers an E, or I, the half circle a T, followed by the image of a goddess.

Hitherto we have seen the god Ammon Cnouphis, and his son, the god Phtha, occupying the first rank among the mystical persons of the Egyptian theology; because, as we have observed, the goddess Neith, whow as a second emanation of Ammon, formed in reality but one and the same being with the first principle, from which she had emanated. Ammon and Phtha governed and presided over the intellectual world, and the world above; but of the material or physical world, the government belonged to another god, not less ancient than the other two. He was considered as the soul of nature, the eye of the world, and the son of Phtha, the active intelligence which had organised the universe. He was no less a personage than the sun, the *Ἡλῖος* of the Greeks, and in the Egyptian language was called Re, or Ri. The priests described him as one of the earliest kings, and the successor of his father in the government of Egypt, and, like him, the special protector of the sovereigns, whom adulation regarded as members belonging to the family of this god. In consequence of this belief, all the Egyptian kings, from

the earliest Pharaohs to the last of the Roman emperors, adopted, in the legends consecrated to their honour, the pompous titles of offspring of the sun, son of the sun, king like the sun of all inferior and superior regions, and the like. They had, besides, consecrated to this god, the city of Heliopolis; and thus each of the four principal cities of the empire, Thebes, Memphis, Sais, and Heliopolis was under the special protection of one of the four great deities Ammon Cnouphis, Phtha, Neith, and Phre, or Re.

The city of Heliopolis, which, in the Egyptian language, was called the city of *On*, was situated a little to the north of Memphis, and was one of the most extensive cities of Egypt, during the reign of the Pharaohs, and so adorned by monuments, as to be reckoned among the first sacred cities of the kingdom. The temple dedicated to *Re*, was a magnificent building, having in front an avenue of Sphinxes, so celebrated in history, and adorned by several obelisks, raised by the order of Sethosis Rameses, 1900 years before Christ. By means of lakes and canals, the town, though built upon an artificial eminence, communicated with the Nile; and during the beautiful ages of the Egyptian monarchy, their priests and learned men acquired and taught the elements of learning within the precincts of its temples. It was there that, after the lapse of time, the degenerate descendants of the same Egyptians, communicated to the wise men and lawgivers of Greece, the

ancient documents, and the principles already corrupted by the influence of foreign invasion, and polluted by ignorance and superstition. At the time of Strabo, who visited this town soon after the death of our Saviour, they still shewed the apartments in which, four centuries before, Eudoxus and Plato had laboured to learn the philosophy of Egypt.

The name of this god Re, is represented in all the three usual ways, that is, phonetically, figuratively, and symbolically.

Phonetically, by the mouth and the arms [fig. 13.] which spell Ra, or Re, or by a circle and the perpendicular line [fig. 14.] which are but synonyms of the two former signs.

Figuratively, it exhibited the image of the god, as he was seen in the temple, sometimes with the head of a hawk, simply surmounted by a globe [fig. 15.], the symbol of the sun; and at other times having the addition of a serpent, called Uræus [fig. 16.], which, as you know, was another emblem of the supreme power; and symbolically [fig. 17.] we find him represented by these same attributes of the globe and serpent, without any further addition.

If we are to believe Horapollo, the Egyptians had given to this god the head of a hawk, because they believed this bird to be very prolific, and long-lived, two qualifications admirably suiting the nature of the sun. They thought, besides, that this bird, by an unknown power peculiar to itself, always held his

eyes directed to the sun, which for this reason was represented in the temple of Hieracomorphe, under the image of a hawk. This bird, in fact, seems to have been the emblem of many gods, for we find not only the god Phre, but even Phtha Sokaris, often represented under the human form, with the head of this bird.

Occasionally we also meet with another symbolical representation of this god Re, and that is a sphynx, which was considered as the emblem both of strength and prudence. The first of these qualities was expressed by its shewing the body of a lion; the second by its having the human head.

Another great deity, which I must introduce to your acquaintance, is a goddess who seems to have performed several employments in the organization of the universe. Her name is Saté. As she is said to be the daughter of the sun, who was the sovereign of the physical world, Saté seems to have been the protectress of all the Egyptian monarchs, and especially of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty, since her image is become a hieroglyphical character, half figurative and half symbolic. This is generally seen amongst the signs forming the mystic titles, or the prænomen of the princes of this illustrious race, which reckons among its members the greatest kings that ever reigned over Egypt; a Moeres, an Amenophis II., an Ousirei, a Ramses Meiamoun, the grandfather of Ramses Sethosis, so well known by the ancients under the name of Sesostris. In fact, the greatest part of

the royal legends, engraved on the different buildings of Thebes, in honour of the princes of this dynasty, under whose reign Egypt attained the highest degree of civilization, power, and glory, are placed under the protection of this goddess. The titles by which she was decorated were not less magnificent than her emblems. "Saté, the living goddess, the daughter of the sun, the queen of the heavens and of the earth, the ruler of the inferior region, the protectress of her son, the lord of the world, the king of the three regions, son of the sun, Phtah-men Ousirei." Such are the words surrounding an image of this goddess, who covers with her wings a legend, in which the name and prænomen of the Pharaoh Ousirei is inscribed, discovered and published by the indefatigable and unfortunate Belzoni.

These titles, even when unconnected with those that adulation had given to the Pharaohs, are always, the living goddess, the re-establisher, and the benefactress of the inferior region, the ruling deity, like the sun eternal.

And here, for this inferior region, you are not to understand either the inferior region of heaven, or the inferior region of the earth, but simply Lower Egypt. For this name was given to that portion of the country where the Delta begins, as the appellation of superior region was bestowed upon Higher Egypt, or the Thebaid. The intermediate territory was called Middle Egypt.

In the "Egyptian Pantheon," and in the first

edition of the "Précis du Systemé Hieroglyphique," M. Champollion exhibited the name of the goddess Saté, like those of all the other Egyptian deities, phonetically, figuratively, and emblematically. Her phonetic name is made up by four signs [Table 4. fig. 18.]: the straight line with a kind of flower at the top, is an S; the half circle is a T; the two feathers an E; and the last is a figurative character, representing an abridgement of her figure. Figuratively, she is exhibited under the image of a woman, bearing the sign of divine life in her hands, and having her head decorated with the upper part of the head-dress called the pschent, adorned by two long horns. The figure of this peculiar head-dress is exhibited in Table 4. fig. 23.

Another goddess is Smé, called by the Greeks *Αληθεια*, answering to Themis, the goddess of justice and truth. These attributes evidently shew her to have been another representation of the infinite power who continued to influence and act upon the destinies of men, even after death, in a future life; for we find this goddess almost invariably represented on the monuments exhibiting the ceremony of funerals, perpetually leading the soul to the balance, where the deeds and actions of his life were to be weighed, previous to its being introduced to Osiris.

The phonetic name of this goddess is spelt by three characters, [Table 4. fig. 19.] The first a kind of parallelogram, is an S; the second, a

species of sickle, is M ; the third, the extended arm, is an A or an E ; spelling Smé. To these three characters three more are added ; the half circle, the egg, and the image of a female ; the two former mark the gender, the latter the figure or image of this goddess. Figuratively, this goddess was represented [fig. 20.] under the image of a woman, holding the sign of divine life, and having her head decorated with a feather, which is the peculiar distinction of all her images. Lastly, symbolically, she was exhibited [fig. 21.] by the great serpent, who was the emblem of immortality and wisdom.

Such is the short account of some of the principal gods and goddesses, whose names and legends are very often met with among the ruins of Egypt, engraved on obelisks, painted on almost every mummy, and mentioned in most MSS. These gods form but a small portion of the Egyptian Theogony ; they hold however, the most important places in their Pantheon, and such as to enable the generality of readers to understand the greatest part of the hieroglyphical characters most commonly seen. So far therefore, they may be deemed sufficient to answer our present purpose. But as in almost every legend which is connected with the dead, we meet with the representation of another god, whose dominion is principally exercised over the souls of men, I think it better, before I proceed to other topics, to introduce to your acquaintance this important personage. He, together with

his wife, belongs to the second order of the Egyptian gods. They both are, no doubt, another representation of the attributes of the great Demiurgos; and their names are more familiar to you than any I have mentioned as yet: they are the goddess Isis, and her brother and husband, Osiris. It would occupy too much of our time to give the whole account of them both, of their exploits, of the benefits they conferred upon Egypt, of the persecution and murder of Osiris by Typhon, and the anxiety and labours undergone by Isis, to collect his scattered limbs, and to have them buried. This foolish story, which, in progress of time, became a legend, was, in the beginning, without the least doubt, a regular fable, recording one of the greatest truths transmitted and preserved by tradition amongst mankind, of the sad event of the fall of man, and of the destruction of the world by the deluge. It would not be difficult, if I could possibly enter into more minute detail, to point out the analogy which all the circumstances recorded in the lives of Isis and Osiris, and the ceremonies which accompanied the mysteries, or festivals of these and other deities, had to the events, the memory of which they were originally intended to perpetuate; the creation of the world, the fall of man, the destruction of mankind by the flood, the preservation of Noah and his family, the unity of God, and the promise he made to that patriarch; and, consequently, the necessity of abjuring the worship of idols, which properly constituted

the end of the mysteries, and obtained for them the name of *regeneration*, and for the initiated themselves the proud appellation of *regenerated*.

Indeed, the elevation of a ship, which formed a prominent feature in the mysteries both of Isis and Ceres, though in progress of time it might have been applied to other purposes, could not originally have a significant reference to any thing else but Noah's preservation in the ark. The innumerable fables which, towards the end of the Theocratic government, and much more in the after times, had been invented and engrafted on that event, involved the subject in deeper and deeper mystery. But I have no doubt, that in their origin this ceremony had been introduced to commemorate the destruction of mankind by the deluge. The theories which we find existing among the several nations may indeed be varied, but the necessary consequence which must be drawn from seeing the same emblem among the different nations of the globe is evidently this, that not only the Egyptians, but the Chinese, the Japanese, the Persians, the Hindoos, and even the Indians of North and South America, have theories sufficiently circumstantial to evince that they possess a traditional account of the deluge of Noah. Their respective theories are too copious to be cited here; they will form the subject of one Lecture, or perhaps of two. I must therefore, for the present, refer those who wish to acquire a full idea on this most interesting subject, to Bryant's *System of Mythology*, Perron's *Zendavesta*, Nieu-

hoff's Voyage to Brazil, Acosta's History of the Indies, Faber's Origin of Pagan Idolatry, and the several papers which have appeared on this subject in the Asiatic Researches, and in the works of Sir W. Jones.

In regard to Isis and Osiris, you find their names, like those of the other gods and goddesses, expressed phonetically, figuratively, and symbolically. Phonetically, the name of Isis was exhibited by four characters, [Table 4. fig. 24, and 25.] the cup, [fig. 24.] or its synonyme, the feather, [fig. 25.] either of which stood for an I; the egg, which was an S; the half circle, which denoted the feminine gender; and the throne, the emblem by which the goddess was perpetually designated. Figuratively, she was represented by the image of a woman sitting, holding on her head the circle surrounded by horns, and sometimes in her hand either the sign of divine life, [fig. 26.] or a flower of lotus, [fig. 27.] And, lastly, symbolically, her representation was the throne, the half circle, and the egg, as specifying gender; and sometimes they added to these signs the image of a goddess, [fig. 28.]

The phonetic exhibition of Osiris, her brother and husband, consisted of four signs, or characters, [fig. 29.] a sceptre, with the head of a species of wolf, which denotes the vowel O; the crooked line S; the oval an R; the arm an E, or an I, which gives *Osre*, the abbreviation of *Osire*, or *Osiri*.

His symbolic name was represented by the eye

and the throne, to which sometimes the hatchet was added, [fig. 31.] as the symbolical sign of the deity, and at other times the abridged figure of the god, as a generic character, [fig. 32.]

Lastly, his figurative name was represented by the image of a god, mostly sitting, bearing on his head the royal pschent, and often in his hand the whip and the sceptre, as he was considered the king of the *Amenti* [fig. 30.] This place, to which the Greeks had given the appellation of Hades, and the Latins of Tartarus, was the place in which the Egyptians supposed the dead to be. It was governed by four genii, the first of whom was the god *Amset*; the second, the god *Api*. Osiris was the king who presided over them all; and we have seen the god Phtha as the ruler of the destinies of the souls of men after they had parted from the body, in order that they might be distributed, according to their merits, in the thirty-two superior regions.

It is for this reason we find the god Thoth a perpetual companion of Osiris, and, after him, the first personage in the *Amenti*, where he had fixed his residence and his tribunal, to regulate the destinies of the souls in each of their transmigrations from the body of one man into another. As the first, or, as he is called, celestial *Thoth*, he was considered an emanation of the first Demi-urgos; and the Egyptians supposed, that, after having assisted him in the work of the creation, he took the human form to enlighten mankind, and

then retired into the moon to assist the god *Poooh* in the disposition of the souls of men. For this purpose, they had divided the whole world into three zones. The first was the earth, or the zone of trial; the second was the zone of the air, perpetually agitated by winds and storms, and was considered as the zone of temporal punishment; and the third was the zone of rest and tranquillity, which was above the other two. Again, they had subdivided the first zone, or the earth, into four regions or departments; the second, or the zone of the air, was divided into two only; the first of these was subdivided into four regions, and the second into eight, making twelve altogether; these being added to the four regions of the first zone, made sixteen: and, lastly, the third zone of the tranquil atmosphere contained sixteen more regions; so that the sum total of the regions in which the souls of the dead were to be distributed, was, in fact, thirty-two.

According to this principle, they supposed that the god *Poooh* was the perpetual director; a sort of king of the souls, who, after having parted from the body, were thrown into the second zone, to be whirled about by the winds through the regions of the air till they were called upon either to return to the first zone, to animate a new body, and to undergo fresh trials, in expiation of their former sins, or to be removed into the third, where the air was perpetually pure and tranquil. It was over these two zones, or divisions of the world, situated

between the earth and the moon, that the god *Pooth* exercised the full extent of his power. He had for his counsel the god *Thoth*, who presided over that portion of the second or tempestuous zone, which was divided into eight regions, and was only a temporary dwelling of the dead. This was, in fact, nothing else but the personification of the grand principle of the immortality of the soul, and the necessity of leading a virtuous life ; since every man was called upon to give a strict account of his past conduct, and, according to the sentence which *Osiris* pronounced, was doomed to happiness or misery ; for, generally speaking, it seems that the Egyptians had assigned to their principal gods and goddesses most closely connected with their *Demiurgos*, two different characters ; the one presiding over, or assisting in, the creation of the universe ; the other performing some duties, or exercising some act of authority in the *Amenti*, as was the case with the god *Phtha*, the goddess *Smé*, and others.

Indeed, this striking tenet of the Egyptian religion will appear sufficiently evident from the account of the manner in which the Egyptians gave a burial to their dead, and of the tenets which had been the cause of the several attendant ceremonies. What I am going to state on the first point, is taken mostly from *Diodorus Siculus*, who, in describing the cemetery of *Memphis*, which was the largest and most frequented of any in Egypt, has also given a narrative of the ceremonies which were practised on the occasion.

“When any person died,” says my historian, “the whole of his family, and all his friends, covered their heads with clay, and went about the city lamenting, until the body was buried. In the mean time they abstained from bathing and from wine, scarcely ate any food, nor did they put on rich clothing. The expense of the funerals was conducted on three different scales, which rendered them costly, moderate, or cheap. A talent of silver, or two hundred and fifty pounds sterling, would scarcely defray the expenditure of the first; the second required twenty minæ, or sixty pounds; and for the third very little money was sufficient. It seems that amongst the Egyptians there were a set of people, who, like our undertakers, took upon themselves the whole service of the funeral for a stipulated sum, which was agreed upon beforehand. Proper persons were then employed to perform their respective operations. The first seems to have been that of the Scribe, whose duty it was to mark out how the dissection was to be made upon the left side of the body. This was executed with a sharp ethiopian stone, by a man called the Dissector, whose office, however, was considered so vile and so degrading, as to oblige him immediately to betake himself to flight, as if he had committed a crime, to escape the pursuit, and, if caught, a severe punishment from the bystanders.”

“At the disappearance of the wretched dissector, the embalmers came forward. They were people

held in high respect, considered as sacred persons, permitted to have a free access to the temples, and to associate with the priests. Their office consisted in removing from the corpse every part that was susceptible of decay, and washing the rest with palm wine and spices; after this immediate operation, they for more than thirty days applied various kinds of resin, to preserve the body; and, after having impregnated the whole with myrrh and cinnamon, to give it an agreeable smell, they returned it to his relations so perfectly preserved in every part, that even the hairs of the eyelids and the eyebrows remained undisturbed." Indeed, from all accounts, it seems that the whole appearance of the deceased remained so unchanged as to be recognised, not only by his height, and the outline of his figure, but even by the character and expression of his countenance. Nor must we be surprised at this great progress which the Egyptians had made in the art of embalming, for they had the custom of keeping the bodies of their ancestors, in their houses, for generations, and enjoyed the gratification as if of living with them. You remember what Lucian says of having been an eye-witness of these mummies being placed on seats at table, as if they had been living.

But to return. The common place of burial was beyond the lake *Acherjsia*, or *Acharejish*, which meant the last state, the last condition of man, and from which the poets have imagined the fabulous lake of *Acheron*. On the borders of this

lake *Acherusia* sat a tribunal, composed of forty-two judges, whose office, previous to the dead being permitted to be carried to the cemetery beyond the lake, was to inquire into the whole conduct of his life.

If the deceased had died insolvent, they adjudged the corpse to his creditors, which was considered as a mark of dishonour, in order to oblige his relations and friends to redeem it, by raising the necessary sums amongst themselves. If he had led a wicked life, they ordered that he should be deprived of solemn burial, and he was consequently carried and thrown into a large ditch made for the purpose, to which they gave the appellation of *Tartar*, on account of the lamentations that this sentence produced among his surviving friends and relations.

This is also the origin of the fabulous *Tartarus*, in which the poets have transferred the lamentations made by the living to the dead themselves who were thrown into it.

If no accuser appeared, or if the accusation had proved groundless, the judges decreed that the deceased was entitled to his burial, and his eulogium was pronounced amongst the applauses of the bystanders, in which they praised his education, his religion, his justice, in short, all his virtues, without, however, mentioning any thing about his riches or nobility, both of which were considered as mere gifts of fortune.

To carry the corpse to the cemetery, it was

necessary to cross the lake, and this was done by the means of a boat, in which no one could be admitted without the express order of the judges, and without paying a small sum for the conveyance. This regulation was so strictly enforced, that the kings themselves were not exempt from its severity.

The cemetery was a large plain surrounded by trees, and intersected by canals, to which they had given the appellation of *elisout*, or *elisiæns*, which means nothing else but *rest*. And such again is the origin of the poetical Charon and his boat, as well as of the fabulous description of the Elysian Fields.

The whole ceremony of the interment seemed to have consisted in depositing the mummy in the excavation made in the rock, or under the sand which covered the whole of the *elisout*, to shut up its entrance by a large stone ; then it seems that the relations of the deceased threw three handfuls of sand on the tomb, as a sign to the workmen to fill up the cavity, and then departed, after uttering three several cries, as three distinct farewells.

To express, therefore, the circumstance, that the deceased had been honoured with the rites of burial, and with the proper and legitimate lamentations of his friends, they exhibited on the legend imprinted on the mummy, or engraved round his tomb, the figure of a horse of the Nile, which the Greeks mistook for a dog, who, by his fidelity and attachment, has deserved to become the symbol of

friendship and affection ; and as they at all times wished to add something of their own to the institutions of other nations, in order to express the three cries, or farewells, they represented this same dog as having three different heads. To this emblem, or hieroglyphic, the Egyptians gave the appellation of *oms* ; and the Greeks, in consequence of their mistaking it for a dog, that of *Cerber*, from the Egyptian *Ceriber*, a word that means *the cry of the tomb*, and from which originates the Cerberus of the Grecian mythology.

The manner in which these religious doctrines were exhibited in hieroglyphics, and how they were further distorted by the Greeks, will form the subject of our next Lecture.

LECTURE V.

Continuation of the same subject—Exhibition of the mode by which the souls of the dead entered the Amenti—Further examination of hieroglyphics—Explanation of some of the most important grammatical forms—Genders—Number—Verbs—Pronouns—Mixture of hieroglyphics—Legends—Names of individuals—of the Pharaohs—Mystic titles which invariably preceded their historical name—Explanation of some most commonly used—Coincidence of the Egyptian inscriptions with the names of some of the kings mentioned in the Bible.

WE concluded our last Lecture with mentioning the ceremonies practised by the Egyptians in the burial of their dead; and I deferred to this Lecture the exhibition of the hieroglyphics connected with these ceremonies. I now offer to your inspection a curious picture, [Table 5.] representing the trial and judgment which the Egyptians supposed the soul of a man to undergo, before he was allowed to enter the region of rest and happiness. It is taken from a curious MS. existing in the Vatican library, of which Angelo Mai, a Milanese, has given a description. Although I have not been able to obtain the original work, yet in German there is a translation by Louis Bachmann, in

three distinct numbers, one of which I have seen. It bears the title of “Die Agyptischen Papyrus der Vaticanischen Bibliothek,—aus dem Italiaenischen des Angelo Mai von Ludwig Baachmann.” It was printed at Leipzig, in 1827.

The whole scene is represented to take place in the prætorium of the *Amenti*. The frieze at the top contains a continued series of different emblems, amongst which the most prominent is the Uræus, the serpent who was considered as the symbol of the goddess Smé, or Tmé, preceded or followed by the feather, which is also another ornament, or attribute, of this same goddess. For this is the place where she, as the goddess of truth, must exclusively preside. She seems herself to stand in the middle, with her arms extended, covering two hieroglyphical legends, exhibiting the symbols of the sun and of the moon, to denote the Providence that rules over the universe. To the right and left of this architrave we find the god Thoth, under the shape of a cynocephalus, or an ape : he is also often called Apis, or Ap.

In the chapel we observe Osiris sitting on a throne, with all the symbols that belong to him,—the whip and the sceptre, to denote his power over time ; the pschent, or the royal helmet, from the front of which issues the serpent, the emblem of eternity and wisdom, and on which is engraved the symbol of Phre, to signify his prudence and his justice. Over his head we have an inscription in hieroglyphical characters, which contains his titles,

and the meaning of which seems to be, "Osiris, the beneficent god; lord of the living, the supreme god, everlasting lord; the ruler of the inferior region, King of the gods." Before him stands a basket, out of which issues a stick, or a pole, on which hangs the skin of a panther, which persuaded the Greeks to assimilate him to their Bacchus.

Before this chapel there is an altar, on which lies an offering of bread, fruit, and flowers of the lotus, and by its side stand two bunches of the same plant, not yet open. They were considered as containing the water of the Nile, without which no sacrifice or libation could be made.

On a pedestal before this altar rests a horse of the Nile, which the Egyptians called *Oms*, the faithful guardian of all burial places, and which the Greeks have transformed into their Cerberus. Over its head there is an inscription in hieroglyphical characters, the import of which is, "*Oms*, the ruler of the inferior region;" and just above him there is a god called *Sciai*, and his wife *Ran-net*, as it appears from the phonetic characters over their heads; they both were attendants on Osiris.

Further back on the sceptre of Osiris is seen a small figure in a sitting posture holding a finger on his lips, to whom the Greeks have given the appellation of *Sigalion*, the *Harpocrates* of the Romans.

In the opposite corner we have a group of three

persons. The first is the goddess Smé: she appears with all the attributes of her office and power; the long sceptre in her right hand, and the sign of divine life in her left, to signify, that through her alone a man can pass to immortality and happiness; and lastly, she has her head surrounded by a sort of diadem, surmounted by a feather, her peculiar distinction; and over it we find the legend which characterises her as “Smé, the goddess of truth, the daughter of the sun, for ever living, and benevolent, ruler of the inferior region.”

On account of her double character, the Greeks have compared this goddess to Themis and Persephone, that is, Proserpine. As the goddess of justice she is Themis, as a companion of Osiris, and queen of the Amenti, she is Persephone.

Next to Smé, we find another figure in the common dress of the Egyptians, who evidently is the person of the deceased. His name is engraved over his head, and signifies “the Osirian, *Nesimandu* deceased, son of *Nuabendi* deceased;” and next to this legend there is another, which seems to be a petition which he presents to the goddess Smé, entreating the permission of being allowed to enter the place of rest and tranquillity.

The last figure I do not exactly know how to describe, for I cannot exactly make her out. She seems, however, to be an attendant of Smé, as if introducing Nesimandu to her.

The middle part of this curious monument is occupied by a large balance. In one scale there

is an urn, containing the actions of the life of Nesimandu, in the other, by way of weight, the image of Smé, the goddess of truth. The scale on which lies the urn, is attended by Horus, whose symbolical name is engraved over his head. The other, which contains the image of the goddess, is watched over by Anubis. Above his head there is an inscription, of which I cannot entirely make out the meaning; but from what I can make out, it appears to be "a declaration by Anubis, that these are the proofs of the life and actions of Nesimandu, deceased."

In front of the balance we have the god Thoth, holding a tablet in his left hand, on which he notes down with a reed which he has in his right, the result of the weighing of the life and actions of Nesimandu, approving of the result, and recommending that he might be introduced to Osiris.

The middle compartment represents two rows, containing forty-two figures, in two distinct lines of twenty-one each. They are the emblematical figures of the forty-two judges, who upon earth tried the merits and the demerits of every dead person, to see whether he deserved the distinction of a burial. This trial, which even kings were obliged to undergo, formed the most remarkable feature in the Egyptian religious code, and, no doubt, arose from the belief, that in the next world, the same ceremony took place, before the soul of the dead was allowed to be presented to Osiris, in order that he might, according to the life he had led, be

sent to the appropriated region, of greater or less happiness or misery.

To signify that the judges were perfectly impartial, and that the deceased was tried according to the strictest rules of justice, the judges were represented under the human form, with the heads of the different animals which were the symbolical characters of the several gods or goddesses; or, in other and more appropriate expressions, the representation of the several attributes and emanations of the great Demiurgos.

To render the whole picture more striking, it seems as if the sentence of the forty-two judges was carried down to the goddess Smé by her attendant, while she received the petition of Nesimandu at the time that the god Thoth was registering, on the tablets of fate, the result of the weighing, which Horus and Anubis had made of the whole of his life, against the image of the goddess of Truth.

The whole of this representation seems, no doubt, to have been executed in honour of Nesimandu, as a proof of his having been admitted to the funeral honours which the Egyptians granted to all persons who had led a virtuous life. The MS. to which this curious drawing is attached, is now in the Vatican library; and I have no doubt, that if it were made out, most of its contents would turn out to be the recital of the actions of Nesimandu, or, at least, something concerning him. I am led to this conclusion by seeing over his head, engraved in hieroglyphical characters, not only his

name, but also that of his father Nuabendi; a circumstance which, according to my opinion, evidently proves, that he is the hero of the representation, the object of which is to praise him.

Perhaps it may be asked, whether any monument or inscription exists, in which the scale is observed to preponderate on the opposite side, that is, to exhibit an instance of a bad life in the deceased; and if so, what were the marks added to such an exhibition, to shew the disapprobation of society?

To the first of these questions I answer, that monuments of this sort are very seldom to be met with, though I have no doubt that they were not uncommon. It would be impossible to conceive that the whole of the Egyptian nation was so moral and correct, as not occasionally to exhibit individuals whose immoral conduct deserved reprobation and punishment. These, we know, were deprived of religious burials,^o and their bodies cast into pits, or disposed of in a manner different from that which was generally practised.

Now as the whole of this ceremony was intended to inculcate the necessity of a virtuous life, by the certainty of a future existence of reward or punishment, we have a right to suppose, that, for the sake of example, exhibitions of this sort must have existed, by which the people might see that the denial of burial in this world was followed up by some punishment in the Amenti. Contrary to our expectation, however, it seems that monuments of

this sort are very rare; for M. Champollion told Captain Sabine, from whom I received the information, that, among the great numbers of pictures and MSS. he had examined, he had seen only one monument in which the urn, containing the soul or actions of the deceased, could not balance the weight of the image of Smé. In consequence of this deficiency, on a flight of stairs which formed the communication between the Amenti and the world, the deceased was represented under the form of a dog, with his tail between his legs, running away from the god Anubis, who was pursuing and driving him back again into the world. This representation confirms the opinion, that the Egyptians admitted the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, and believed that the souls of men, for particular crimes, were condemned to return to life under the shape of some animal, to atone for their past sins.

As no legend was attached to this extraordinary picture, M. Champollion could not ascertain either the name of the deceased, or the offence he had committed. From other circumstances, however, connected with this monument, he is of opinion that the deceased was so punished for the crime of high treason, a crime which, in every civilized country, has been, and very properly too, considered of the most heinous and profligate nature, destructive of the very foundation of society, and, therefore chastised, not only in this world, but in the next. To a certain extent, such seems to

be the doctrine of the law of England to this moment.

Upon the whole, it seems evident that the Egyptian Amenti has been the prototype and the origin of the Hades of the Greeks, and the Tartarus of the Latins. Orpheus, who had been initiated in all the secrets of the mysteries of Egypt, carried into Greece these mysteries, and the Greeks soon so altered the whole, as to render it no longer recognisable. Osiris became Pluto ; Smé, Persephone ; Oms, Cerberus ; Thoth, Mercurius Psychopompos ; Horus, Apis, and Anubis the three infernal judges, Minos, Æacus, and Rhadamanthus. To conclude the whole, the symbolical heads of the different animals under which the forty-two judges were represented, being deprived of their primitive and symbolical meaning, were changed into real monsters, the Chimeras, the Harpies, the Gorgons, and other such unnatural and horrible things, with which they peopled their fantastic hell ; and thus the Amenti of the Egyptians, as indeed the greatest part, if not the whole of their religion, became, in the hands of the Greeks and Romans a compound of fables and absurdities.

Such is the account I have to offer with regard to the leading points of the Egyptian Amenti. We must now pass on to consider another sort of characters, or signs, which may be called, as indeed they are, grammatical forms. They often occur in the different legends, and without a previous explanation their meaning is not easily understood.

I shall exhibit some of the most important. They turn mostly upon genders, the formation of the plural, on some of the pronouns, and the verbs. And it is indeed surprising to see with what nicety and care the Egyptians seem to have marked all the possible combinations of the grammar, and to have preserved, in writing hieroglyphics, all the rules of syntax which their language required.

This, as you will readily conceive, is not the most attractive part of the hieroglyphics. I will give you a few specimens, which will enable you to see how these points were managed by the Egyptians. The figures that were made use of, have a reference to words in the Coptic language; some of these figures I will exhibit, and mention the words to which they refer. If you will favour me with a little of your attention, the whole will be, I hope, intelligible.

The marks of the genders are,—a square, either plain, [Tab. 6. fig. 1.] or striated, [fig. 2.] for the masculine, and half a circle, [fig. 3.] for the feminine. The square, in Coptic, is called *Pe*, and stands for the letter P. The half-circle is called *Te*, and stands for the letter T. They both are considered as articles. Although, in the spoken language, they are both put before the noun, yet, in writing, the feminine article, that is, the half circle, is generally noted after the noun.

For instance, the word *she*, or *se*, means *daughter*; and if we wish to add to it the article *te*, we should say *tshe*, or *tse*, that is, *the daughter*.

Again, the word *sen*, means *sister* ; and with the addition of the article we have *tsen*, that is, *the sister*. In the same way *mou* signifies *mother* ; and with the addition of the article we have *tmou*, *the mother*. But in writing hieroglyphics, we must put the half circle at the end, and write, not *tsen*, but *sent*,—not *tmou*, but *mout*,—not *tshe*, but *shet*.

The plural, as I hope you remember, is invariably expressed by a simple repetition of the units ; [fig. 4.] to these units sometimes is added the figure of a horn, [fig. 5.] or of a quail, [fig. 6.] all of which stand for the syllable *noue*, or *oue*, which is the termination added to the plural. For instance, the word *soten* signifies *king* ; and by the addition of *noue* we have *sotenoue* kings,—*noyte*, *god* ; *noytenoue*, gods ; and the like. Sometimes we also find this plural number marked by the undulating line, either in its simple form of one line, [fig. 7.] or in the double form of two lines, [fig. 8.] which is, in fact, an abbreviation of the syllable *noue* ; for the undulating line, either in simple or double form, stands for the letter N.

In regard to the genders, it seems that the Egyptians expressed them by employing the pronouns *of him*, or *of her* ; and these pronouns were represented by the figure of an undulating line over a serpent, [fig. 9.] or over a broken line, [fig. 10.] In the first instance, [fig. 9.] the group represented the pronoun *his*, or *of him*, which, in Coptic, was *nef*, or *nev*, for these two letters, F and V, being perpetually confused, were expressed by the

same hieroglyphic. In the second instance, [fig. 10,] the group stood for the pronoun *hers*, or *of her*, which in Coptic was called *nes*. Thus, for example, if to the word *tmou*, which, as we have just observed, signifies *the mother*, we add *eph*, which is an abbreviation of the genitive case of the pronoun *neph*, we shall have the word *tmoueph*, or *tmouph*, which means, *the mother of him*; and, on the other hand, by adding *es*, which is an abbreviation of the pronoun *nes*, we shall have *tmoues*, or *tmous*, to signify *the mother of her*. Now the same rule stands good in regard to writing hieroglyphics. If to the vulture, which is the symbolical character for *mou*, mother, we add the serpent, [fig. 11.] which stands for the letter F, and is therefore an abbreviation of the pronoun *nef*, we shall have the group expressing, phonetically, *mouph*, that is, *mother of him*, while, by adding the broken line, [fig. 12.] we change the masculine into the feminine gender, and read the group *mous*, that is, *mother of her*.

Again, the *chenalopex*, that is the goose, or the egg, are the phonetic hieroglyphics expressing the word *child*,—for both of them represent the letter S, which is an abbreviation of the word *se*, or *tse*, son, child. Therefore, if to the bird or the egg we add the figure of the serpent, [fig. 14.] or the broken line, [fig. 15.] we shall have, in the first instance, the group signifying *son of him*, or *his son*; and, in the second, *son of her*, or *her son*.

Again, the word father is represented phoneti-

cally, [fig. 30.] by the half circle, which is a T; by the serpent, which is U, or *ou*; and by the perpendicular line, E. These make up the word *toue*, *tuye*, from the Egyptian verb *taye*, to beget. By adding, therefore, to these signs, either a second serpent, as in fig. 31. or a broken line, as in fig. 32. we shall have in one group [fig. 31.] the phrase expressing *father of him*,—and in the other group, [fig. 32.] *father of her*.

But though all these three words, son, father, and mother, may be, and often are, represented by phonetic characters, employed as letters spelling each of these words, they may all be represented figuratively. For instance, instead of the bird and the line, [fig. 26.] or the egg and line, [fig. 27.] we may employ the figure of a child, to express a son,—of the vulture to express a mother,—and of the serpent, the father. And again, if to the signs, whether they be phonetic or figurative, of the father and of the mother, we attach another sign, expressing the gender, such as the half circle for the feminine, and the serpent, or a notched line, for the masculine; then the group will express the sex of the child, and will be read, with the serpent, or notched line, father of him, or mother of him; and with the half circle, father of her, or mother of her, because the half circle shews the feminine gender, as the serpent or notched line does the masculine.

Sometimes, indeed, we find the phonetic group of mother spelt by three signs, [fig. 13.] the vulture,

the hatchet, and the half circle ; of which the first is an M ; the second a U, or *ou* ; and the half circle, a T ; and then we have also the word *mout*, which Plutarch quotes as an Egyptian word, to signify *mother*.

This character, in fact, of the half circle, is always added to the bird, whenever, in a funeral inscription, they both are employed to express the sex of the deceased. Thus, for instance, if to the bird and the line, which is the group spelling *se*, or *si*, [fig. 26.] we add the half circle, [fig. 33.] we shall have *tse*, or *set*, to mean daughter ; but if we add this same half circle to the group in fig. 34. which spells *son* or *sen*, and means brother, we shall then have *sont*, or *tson*, to express sister. And again, if to the group in fig. 33. we add the serpent, [fig. 35.] then the signification will be, daughter of him. Whilst by adding to the group fig. 34. the broken line, as in fig. 36. the whole group will signify, sister of her.

The genitive case, however, when unconnected with any pronoun, is mostly expressed by the undulating line being added to the group. This hieroglyphic, you remember, stands for the letter N, and on those occasions is taken as an abbreviation of the syllable *nen*, which is the invariable termination of the genitive case in the Coptic language. Thus, for instance, the word *king*, which in Coptic is *soten*, or *soiten*, is represented [fig. 37.] by a kind of plant, which is an S ; by the half circle, which is a T ; and by the line, either undulating or plain, both of which stand for

an N, and spell *Stn*, that is *Soten*. In the same way the word *place*, which in Coptic is *ma*, [fig. 38.] is expressed by two hieroglyphics, by the owl, which stands for an M, and by the extended arm, which is an A. Now if to these groups we add the undulating line, we turn the nominative into the genitive case, and must read the whole *of a king, of a place*.

In regard to the verbs, it seems that our knowledge is not sufficiently extensive to allow us to mark with accuracy the hieroglyphics by which the Egyptians distinguished the different tenses of past, present, and future. If we are to draw our conclusion from the manner in which they conjugated their verbs, it seems that this should be done by the addition of one or more hieroglyphics; because in speaking, they marked these different tenses by adding a letter or a syllable to the infinitive mood. We find, in fact, that they distinguished the third person singular of the present tense, in the same way as we do in the English language, by adding the letter *s* to the word,—such as *he does, he writes*. And M. Champollion has ascertained, that in hieroglyphics, the figure of the serpent, or of the broken line, one of which stands for the letter S, and the other for the letter F, is a mark of this third person singular of the present tense. For the same reason M. Champollion has also found out that the group in fig. 16. consisting of three characters, is the mark by which they exhibited the third person plural of the future tense. For in fact, the crooked line is an S, the

undulating line is N, the three perpendiculars are E; they are, therefore, an abbreviation of *sene*, which, in the spoken language, was invariably added to the verb, to express the third person plural of the future tense.

The passive participle was represented by two hieroglyphics, the horn and the half circle, [fig. 17.] The horn is U, or OI; the half circle a T; and they both spell *ut*, or *oit*, which was the termination of the passive participle, in the spoken language.

With regard to the pronouns, the definite was exhibited by the *vase*, and the perpendicular line, [fig. 18.] The vase represents the letter N, the perpendicular line the vowel A, spelling *na*, or *ne*. These two hieroglyphics are always added to groups expressing names, and seem to exhibit the meaning of the pronoun *this*, in English.

The relative pronoun *who*, or *which*, is represented by a vase and half a circle [fig. 19.] The vase is an N, the half circle is a T. They are an abbreviation of *net*, which, in the old Coptic, means precisely *who* or *which*. The triangle joined to the square, [fig. 20.] or a stretched arm holding a triangle, added to a square, [fig. 21.] spell *pot*, or *pet*, which syllable or word, when prefixed to a noun, denotes the demonstrative pronoun, amounting to our expression, *the man who*, or *the man belonging to*. And in the feminine gender, the same meaning is obtained by the three signs [fig. 22.] representing a pair of tongs, the undulating

line, and the half circle. The phonetic power of the tongs is a T; of the undulating line, N; of the half circle, T: an abbreviation of *tent*, which means the *woman who*, or the *woman belonging to*.

Thus, for instance, if before the hieroglyphics spelling the name of Amon, [fig. 23.] we put the two characters marked in fig. 20, we shall have, in fig. 24, the word *Petamon*, which means *the man belonging to Amon*. And in the same way, if we add the characters marked in fig. 22, expressing the feminine gender, to those exhibited by fig. 23, we shall have, in fig. 25, the word *Tentamon*, which will mean *the woman belonging to Amon*.

Such are the principal and most important grammatical forms or phrases, which it is proper you should be acquainted with, because the understanding of them will help us greatly in decyphering the legends which I shall have to offer to your consideration. To impress them still more on your mind, I shall exhibit some instances.

The first of these instances is the group, which exhibits the relation of a son [fig. 26]. This, in Coptic, is called *sa*, or *se*, or *scha*, from the verb *schai*, to be born. Now the bird stands for the letter *shei*, (𐩬), the *schin* (𐤱) of the Hebrew, which corresponds to our *sch*, and the perpendicular line, for an A or E, according to the different dialects; and thus the whole group forms the word *scha*, or *sa*, or *se*. The same must be said of the oval and the line [fig. 27.]; for the oval, or egg,

is a synonyme of the bird, and the meaning, or rather the spelling, is the same, as either is indifferently applied to signify a son, in regard to the father only ; for when we wish to apply it to the mother, then we employ the other group in fig. 28, which spell *ms*, an abbreviation of *mas*, or *mese*, from the verb *mes*, to produce.

According, therefore, to what I said in my last Lecture, as well as in this, of the figurative and symbolic hieroglyphics, we may easily read the legend marked in fig. 29, the meaning of which is, —Horus, son of Osiris, god, produced by Isis, goddess.

In this group, we have a mixture of signs, some of which are symbolic, and some phonetic. The name of Horus is symbolic, consisting of the hawk and the perpendicular line ; the word son is phonetic, expressed by the bird S, and the line A, or E. The names of Isis and Osiris are symbolic ; so are the titles of god and goddess ; for the former is expressed by the post, or hatchet, that stands under the eye ; the latter by the *pschent* which precedes, and the image of the goddess which follows, the symbolic name of Isis. The word *produced* is phonetic, and the oval and the semi-circle are the marks of the female gender belonging to Isis.

From what has been said, therefore, it is evident, that from the great number of characters which might be used to express the same idea, the Egyp-

tians followed three different modes in selecting those they meant to employ. If they wished, for instance, to mention in their writing the name of Ammon, of this supreme deity of Thebes, the writer, or, as the Greeks called him, the hierogamata, could, as he pleased, exhibit this idea either figuratively, symbolically, or phonetically. Figuratively, by drawing the image of this deity such as it was seen in the temples; symbolically, by designing the forms of an obelisk, or of the sacred ram, both of which were the symbols of Ammon; and phonetically, by writing the three characters, or letters, which spelt its name, and adding to the group the image or the symbol of a god.

Sometimes, even in expressing some particular object, they joined the symbolic to the figurative characters, and made them thus to represent a particular idea. Such is the group which I offer to your inspection, in which the figurative character of a house [fig. 39 and 40.] is joined to the symbolic sign which stands for deity, [fig. 41.] and thus we have the idea of a temple, that is, the house of a deity; and if to these two characters we add a third, the eye, for instance, [fig. 42.] which is the symbolical sign of the god Osiris, we shall have the signification of the temple of Osiris, that is, the sacred house of Osiris; and if instead of the eye we add other characters that are the symbolical expressions of other gods or goddesses, then this general idea of a temple in fig. 41. will be-

come the special representation of the temple belonging to that particular deity whose symbol we employ.

Indeed this mixture of characters is still more evident in the legends which contain the names of private individuals. They are, generally speaking, intermixed with other hieroglyphics, followed by the figure of a man or of a woman, as a sign of species, without being enclosed in a ring or cartouche, which you remember, I hope, was a mark of political distinction belonging to royalty only. The most curious circumstance is, that, besides the name of the individual, they regularly mention that of his father, and often even that of his mother, and these, without exception, preceded by the signs or characters denoting the relationship of which we have spoken. I shall give some instances. [Table 1. fig. 16.]

This inscription, which is found engraved on the basis of a statue in the cabinet of the King of France, is an exemplification of our doctrine. It is a mixture of different sorts of hieroglyphical characters, and exhibits not only the name of the man who ordered this statue, but also those of his parents.

In this legend we have twenty-six characters, of which twenty-one are phonetic, two are figurative, three are symbolico-phonetic, and the whole legend, when interpreted, runs thus:

Petkhem, (man), son of Petamon, (man), produced by the mistress of the house, Tamtebo; for

the square is a P, the half-circle a T, the third sign a K, the two feathers an E, the next sign an M, spelling the name of *Petkem*, or *Petkhem*. The image of the man is figurative, and is attached as a sign of species to *Petkem*. Then follows the goose and the perpendicular line, spelling *se*, and meaning *son*. The plain line, you remember, is N, and stands for an abbreviation of the syllable *nen*, or *an*, and this hieroglyphic always distinguishes the genitive case, and therefore means *of*. After it we have the square P, the arm T, the feather A, the dented parallelogram M, the undulating line N, spelling *Petamon*. Then follows another figure of a man, which, like the former, is merely a figurative character. The two next signs spell *mese*, as we have already noticed, and signify *produced*. The two characters which now follow are symbolico-phonetic; the first is an emblem of power and dominion belonging to a master, but the half-circle that follows, as a mark of the feminine gender, shews that this power belongs to a woman; and the figure of the house that comes next proves that this power is exercised in a house; therefore, the whole group may be rendered by "the mistress of the house." The remaining characters exhibit the name of this mistress to be *Tamtebo*, for the half-circle is T, the bird A, the parallelogram M, the half-circle T, the leg B, the bird O, which make all together *Tamtbo*, that is, *Tamtebo*.

Again, in another legend, [Table 7. fig. 1.] which

is found in two lines round an alabaster vase, we have twenty-one characters ; the two first are symbolico-figurative, exhibiting the emblem of a priest. The two first figures of a man are absolutely figuratives. The third is phonetic ; the straight line is a grammatical form, denoting the preposition, or article, *nen*, which, in English, answers to the articles *of* and *to*. The remainder are phonetic, and the whole legend would be,—“ the priest of Amon, Astavi, to his son Amonshe,” which answers, word for word, to the Coptic ; that is, *Oueb*, the priest ; *an*, of ; *Amon*, Amon ; *Astavi*, Astavi ; *rome*, a man ; *an*, to ; *shef*, or *shev*, his son ; *Amonshe*, Amonshe ; *rome*, a man ; which is neither more nor less than, Astavi, or Astovi, a priest of Amon, made a present of this vase of alabaster to his son Amonshe.

This last name, *Amonshe*, is, as you perceive, a composition of two words ; *Amon*, the name of the god, and *she*, son ; and it was natural for Astavi to have given to his son a name by which he was placed under the protection of the same deity whose priest he was ; for this is a very peculiar characteristic of all the Egyptian names of individuals, that of being generally formed from those of some of their gods.

A curious instance I can give you in the name of Potipherah, the very same which was given to the priest of *On*, whose daughter Joseph married, by the order of Pharaoh, as it is mentioned in Genesis xli. 45. “ and Pharaoh gave him

to wife *Asenath*, the daughter of *Poti-pherah*, priest of *On*." The name of this priest, as well as that of Potiphar, the former master of Joseph, are both spelt, in the Coptic version of the Pentateuch, *Petophre*, which is a composition of three words, *Pet*, belonging to; or approved by *Hor*, the symbolic name of the god *Horus*, and *Re*, or *Phre*, the sun; so that the whole name means, the man who belongs to, or who is under the protection of Horus, and the sun. I exhibit the legend [Table 4. fig. 33.] which M. Champollion has found mentioned in a hieroglyphic manuscript obtained by M. Cailliaud for the cabinet of the King of France.

In this legend, the name of Horus and the sun are symbolic; the figure of a man figurative; the rest are phonetic; for the square is a P, the arm a T, the bird and the line *Hor*, the square a P, the circle *re*, or *phre*, spelling *Pthorpre*, or *Pethorpre*. The last character, the figure of a man, is figurative, and denotes the species.

And here I think it proper to recall to your mind what I said in a former Lecture about this town of *On*, to which the Greeks gave the appellation of Heliopolis. *On*, in the original Egyptian, signifies the sun, which the Greeks called *Helios*, and, therefore, called *Heliopolis* the city of Helios, that is, the city of *On*; and it is rather a remarkable circumstance to find this Egyptian name of *On* preserved in the sacred pages.

And, since we are now speaking of the name of Joseph's father-in-law, I may as well exhibit to you

also the name of Joseph's wife, written in hieroglyphics. We have mentioned that in Genesis she is called *Asenath*, which is evidently the same as the Coptic, *Aseneith*, because the alteration of the sound of one or two vowels, either in Hebrew or in Coptic, is a circumstance that happens almost to every word, for both the Egyptians and the Jews left out the vowels in writing. Now this word *Aseneith*, or *Asneith* is a composition of the monosyllable *as*, belonging to, and *Neith*, the goddess. [Table 7. fig. 2.]

You remember that the phonetic name of Neith consisted of waving line, N; two feathers, E; and the half-circle, T. Now by adding to these hieroglyphics, the arm, which is an A, and the notched line an S; the whole will be *Asneth*, or *Asneith*.

M. Champollion, in the first edition of his "Précis du Système Hieroglyphique," produced another legend for the name of this wife of Joseph, he called her *Asesi*, [Table 7. fig. 3.] a name formed by the monosyllable *As*, written phonetically by the arm and the notched line, and the symbolic name of the goddess Isis. This interpretation he has abandoned in the second edition; but whether *Asneith* or *Asesi* be the original of the name of Joseph's wife, it is very curious to observe a man of letters in France, in our own days, finding, in one of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, a name that so corresponds with the name that is found in our sacred Scriptures.

From the legends I have exhibited, and from

what has been said, I think I have sufficiently shewn, that the Egyptians, in writing hieroglyphically the names, at least, of private individuals, did not confine themselves to one sort of characters, but mixed together the phonetic, the figurative, and the symbolic, without any reason, or, at least, without any reason as yet apparent to us.

I will endeavour to prove that they continued the same practice in regard to the names and legends belonging to kings and princes.

I have already alluded [Table 3. fig. 2.] to an inscription in which the names of the two Pharaohs, Osorgon and Sheschonk were exhibited. At the time that I called your attention to this monument, I merely explained the names of these two sovereigns, and reserved for another occasion the explanation of the rest. I shall now fulfil my promise.

Of the characters which compose this legend some are phonetic, some figurative, and some symbolic. The whole reading, in Coptic, is, *ouab an Amon-re soten annenoute Osorchon pri (or pre), ce or ci an ouab an Amon-re Souten Scheschonk re Soten Nebto (Amonmai Osorchon) &c.* The meaning is, *the pure by Amon-re king of the gods, Osorchon deceased, son of the pure,* (here come the two characters, the head and the square, which are still unknown,) then follows *by Amon-re, king of the gods, Scheschonk deceased, son of king of the world, (beloved by Amon-re, Osorchon,) imparting life, like the sun, for ever.*

As you observe, the groups containing the names of Osorchon and Scheshonk are phonetic, so are most of the other groups representing the word *se*, which signifies son; the different groups exhibiting the name of Amon, and even the participle *mai* (beloved), and other such figurative hieroglyphics, are the characters expressing the deity; the indefinite number, of course, is represented by three units, and the repetition of the same characters signifying the world.

So much for the characters; now for the contents of this curious inscription.

Here we have the names of three kings, two called Osorchon, one Scheshonk. The first of these Osorchons seems to have been the grandfather of the second; and yet this second, who was then reigning, had alone the distinction of having his name enclosed in an oval, whilst both his father, Scheshonk, and his grandfather, Osorchon, have their names written without this distinction. Another curious circumstance is, that though these two princes are deprived of the honour of having their names enclosed in an oval, yet they are both decorated by the title of king, which is denied to Osorchon, then reigning, whose name is enclosed in the ring, without this distinction.

This curious difference evidently proves, that the ring itself was considered a sufficient mark to denote principality, and that when this distinction did not take place, it was necessary to add the character expressing it.

Another curious circumstance is, that there

*new enough to denote
prince
the character
expressing it.*

seems to have existed in Egypt, from time immemorial, the custom of perpetuating certain names in the family, and that, generally speaking, to the grandson was given the name of the grandfather; as, for instance, in this legend we have the name of Osorchon given to his grandson, then reigning.

This Osorchon seems to have been the Zarah, or Zarach, the king of Ethiopia, recorded in the second book of Chronicles, who, with an host of a thousand thousand and three hundred chariots came to make war against Asa, the grandson of Jeroboam, and was defeated at Mareshah; although the Greek historians have never mentioned either the name or exploits of Osorchon, this fact is attested by an hieroglyphical manuscript, published by Denon. It is a funeral legend, loaded with figures, on and round which there are several hieroglyphical inscriptions. By the shortness of their contents, and the negligence with which they are engraved, when we consider the importance of the person to whom they refer, they must be looked upon as belonging to that peculiar sort of inscriptions merely recording the death and the obsequies of kings, or other great persons, without pretending to rank amongst the monuments of a higher sort, which are, properly speaking, historical. Inscriptions of this kind are by no means uncommon; they are generally accompanied by figures and representations, sometimes striking, but generally odd and extraordinary. This legend, in fact, Denon mentions that he copied from a manuscript picture,

which represents the mummy of the king Osorchon in various positions, and over which this same legend is repeated several times.

Besides this manuscript, the names of these Pharaohs are found engraved on different statues, and on the columns of the palace of Karnac; they are also engraved on a magnificent vase which now exists in the Royal Museum at Paris, and formerly belonged to one of the Roman family of the Claudii, who thought proper to use it as a funeral urn, on which they had engraved the name of this patrician, in large Roman letters, over and across the Egyptian.

These Pharaohs lived about one thousand years before Christ, according to the Hebrew chronology, since they were contemporaries of the kings of Judah, Rehoboam, son of Solomon, and Asa; and from this legend, as well as from those I have already quoted, it is evident, first, that phonetic hieroglyphics must have been in use before this time, and that in writing hieroglyphics, the Egyptians promiscuously employed the phonetic, the figurative, and the symbolical characters.

I must now proceed to call your attention to another curious, and not less striking circumstance, and that is, whenever we cast our eyes upon the legends which contain the names of any of the kings of Egypt, we find them always enclosed in two oval rings, the first of which is invariably surmounted by four distinct characters, among which we easily discern the figure of a bee. [Table 7.

fig. 4. *a*.] The second oval or ring is surmounted by the bird or goose of the Nile, at the top of which there is a circle. [fig. 4, *b*.] But as soon as we apply ourselves to find out the meaning of the signs enclosed by these rings, or cartouches, we discover that the historical name of the sovereign is invariably contained in the second oval, which is surmounted by the goose and the circle, while the first oval, without exception, always exhibits one or more names of gods or goddesses, mostly expressed by figurative or symbolical characters, though not seldom phonetic.

They are all honorary or mystic titles, which every ruler of Egypt, from the earliest Pharaohs to the very last of the Roman emperors, regularly assumed. They form a sort of prænomen, so peculiarly defined, as to suit only the individual whom it was intended to specify. This remarkable circumstance is so much the more to be attended to, as from these very prænomina, or mystic titles, we have derived one of the strongest arguments that can be imagined in favour of the great antiquity of phonetic hieroglyphics, and of the immense power and high civilization of the Egyptians, so far back as two thousand three hundred years before Christ, as I shall soon endeavour to explain.

Confining myself at present to the external signs, I beg to observe, that invariably on the oval that contains the mystic titles, there are the characters marked in Table 7, fig. 4, *a*; whilst on the other oval, that exhibits the historical name, we

find the other characters expressed by fig. 4, *b*. The former are the plant, two semicircles, and the bee. The first is an S, each of the second a T, an abbreviation of *soten*, or *suten*, which is the Egyptian name to signify a king; and the bee, which, according to Horoapollo, is the symbol of popular obedience being added to it, enables us to explain the whole group by *king of the obedient people*. As to the other characters, which are at the top of the second oval [fig. 4. *b*.] you remember that the bird indicates the relation of son, and the circle is the symbolic name of the god *Re*, or *Phre*, the great luminary, the sun; therefore, these two characters mean, *son (or offspring) of the sun*. These external signs, being always the same, offer no difficulty, for their import never alters. But the case is different with the characters contained in the ring; for they vary most materially with the names of the different kings, each having characters so peculiar to himself, that by the mere difference of them we may distinguish the several monarchs who bore the same name; the four or five Ramesseses, for instance, and all the Ptolemies. But as it would require more time than we have, to enumerate and explain *all* the groups which enter into the composition of these prænomena, I shall confine myself to those which most generally occur, in their grammatical form, though they may, and indeed they do vary in their expression, when combined with the names of the different gods, or goddesses, with which each of them forms a specific legend.

The first group to which I mean to call your attention, is a figure very much resembling a plough-share, followed by two feathers. [Table 7, fig. 5.] For some time these signs were incomprehensible, but fortunately for the progress of the modern discoveries in hieroglyphical literature, these two signs joined to the phonetic name of *Phtha*, were found to exist in the name of Ptolemy, engraved on the Rosetta stone, which was rendered in Greek by the word loved, or beloved by *Phtha*. This remarkable circumstance attracted the attention of the antiquaries, and M. Champollion ascertained that the plough is an M, the two feathers an E, or I, and the whole gives the word *mai*, or *mei*, which in Egyptian signifies *loved*; and thus perfectly agreeing, not only with the Greek version engraved on the Rosetta stone, but also with the translation we have from Hermapion of one of the ancient obelisks of Rome, which unfortunately has not escaped the ravages of the barbarians, and of time.

Sometimes, instead of the plough, we find a sort of a square, a kind of pedestal joined to the two feathers. [fig. 6.] But as this pedestal is a synonyme of the plough, and equally represents the letter M, the meaning of the group remains the same. Now, if to this group of the plough and the feathers, or of the pedestal and the feathers, we add the name of any god or goddess, such as Ammon, Re, Phtha, and the like, whether phonetically, figuratively, or symbolically expressed, we

shall have the phrase, *beloved by Amon, beloved by Rhe, or beloved by Phtha.*

In the groups, for instance, mentioned in fig. 7, we have this very phrase, beloved by Ammon, expressed phonetically, for the whole reads, *Amon mais*, that is, beloved by Ammon. This title seems to have been very common to most of the Pharaohs; for these characters are very often found on the obelisks and the great buildings of Thebes, which, without doubt, were raised by their order.

Sometimes we find this same title expressed partly by figurative, and partly by phonetic hieroglyphics. In the group, for example, of fig. 8. the name of Ammon is exhibited figuratively; the adjective *mai*, beloved, phonetically. And as sometimes the god *Ammon* received the appellation of *Ammon-re*, we find some of the Pharaohs assuming the title of *beloved by Ammon-re*. In this group you have a phonetic expression of this title, the whole of which reads *Amonre-mai*. [fig. 9.]

Sometimes we meet with the same title expressed figuratively, as in fig. 10, which shews the image of Ammon, the solar disk, and the adjective *mai*.

In some of the legends of the basso relievos of the temples, the god Ammon is designed with the attribute of being the supreme lord, or lord of the three regions of the world. I exhibit the whole in this legend. [fig. 11.]

In this group we have the name of Amon-re phonetically, followed by his figure, representing a god, and the adjective *mai*, as usual, at the end.

The meaning of the whole legend is, "Beloved by Amon-Re, god, lord of the three regions of the world, supreme lord."

What has been said of the god Ammon may be applied to all other Egyptian gods and goddesses, whose protection the several Pharaohs boasted of having obtained; and the names of these gods or goddesses are sometimes expressed figuratively, or phonetically, and at other times symbolically. In this group, for example, [fig. 12.] we have the expression, beloved by the god *Re*. The name of the god may be considered as phonetic, because the circle is an R, and the line is an E; but it may also be considered as symbolical, because the *circle*, with or without the perpendicular line, is the symbol of the god *Re*. And the same expression might be obtained, by exhibiting a human figure with the head of a hawk, in the usual posture in which all the Egyptian gods are represented; which, you remember, is the figurative representation of the god *Re* [Table 4. fig. 10]; then the figure would stand for the name of the god. The plough, or the pedestal, is an indication of the adjective *mai*, for these abbreviations are very commonly employed in the hieroglyphical legends; and the whole would be, *Re-mai*, or *Re-mei*, that is, *beloved by the god Re*. [Table 7. fig. 12.]

However, in reading these different groups, proper attention must be paid to observe whether the plough or the pedestal, that is, the characters denoting the adjective *mai*, precede or follow the

name of the god or goddesses; for if they follow, as in the groups I have exhibited, the meaning is as I have stated, and they are to be considered as the adjective, or, if you like it best, as the passive participle, *loved*. But if they precede the name of the god, then they change their signification from passive to active, and mean no longer *loved*, but *loving*; and in this case the reading will not be, *beloved by Ammon*, or *beloved by Re*, but *loving Ammon*, or *loving Re*.

The discovery of this curious qualification, arising from the position of these signs, is also due to the Rosetta stone. In the demotic text of that precious monument, which supplies the deficiency of the hieroglyphical inscription, we find this to be the case, whenever the adjective *mai* precedes the group of the god, and it is, in fact, so translated in the Greek version, by the original author of the inscription. From this circumstance, Champollion suspected that the same thing would have taken place in the hieroglyphic inscription, and, consequently, in endeavouring to ascertain the point, he afterwards found his suspicions right. Many instances might be adduced of this difference of signification from amongst those quoted by Champollion, all of which concur to prove that the position of the ploughshare, or pedestal, changes the passive into the active signification; and this you may easily imagine, by altering the position of these characters in the groups I have exhibited.

Another pretty general title assumed by the

rulers of Egypt, differs very much from that we have just considered. It consists of three signs, which I exhibit in fig. 13. The import of the first two signs has been for a long time unknown, but there seems no doubt that they are phonetic; because in other groups, in which the sense seems to be perfectly the same, instead of the waving line, which we know to be an N, we find the head-dress and the lituus mixed into one character, [fig. 14.] which is a synonyme of the waving line. But still, of their meaning or their import we knew nothing, and our antiquaries have for some time been at a loss how to interpret the group, which appears in many legends and inscriptions. Fortunately, however, amongst the ruins at Philæ M. Huyot found a ring, containing several characters, which are perfectly similar to those applied to Ptolemy Epiphanis in the Rosetta stone; and this similarity of characters at once shewed, that the two inscriptions referred to the same monarch.

Now by turning to the Greek translation at the bottom of the Rosetta stone, we find the group arising from these three characters, joined to three more, [fig. 15.] translated by the phrase *Ἡφαίστος ἐδοκιμαζεν*, that is, *Vulcan approves*, or *approved by Phtha*; for the Greeks gave to the Egyptian god Phtha the name of *Ἡφαίστος*. Now we know that the three first characters, [Table 4. fig. 5.] the chain, the square, and the half-circle, are letters spelling the name of that god; therefore, we may reasonably conclude that the remaining three cha-

racters [Table 7. fig. 15.] mean, *the approved of*, that is, *the man whom Phtha has approved, or has chosen*.

This group, like all other groups of the same sort, implying *qualification*, may be varied at pleasure, by being added to other phonetic, figurative, or symbolic characters. For if, instead of the phonetic name of Phtha, we add any of the characters expressing the name of Ammon, we shall have, the approved by Ammon; and this meaning will continue the same, if, instead of the phonetic, the characters should be figurative, or symbolical. In the following groups I offer some instances.

In fig. 16. we have the figure of *Ammon*, and therefore the group means, *the approved by Ammon*.

In fig. 17. we have the symbol of *Re*; and therefore the group means *the approved by Re*.

In fig. 18. we have again the figure of *Re*, with the head of a hawk; and therefore the group does still mean, the approved by *Re*.

And should we to the group add the pedestal, and over it exhibit the symbols or figures of both *Ammon* and *Re*, we should then have the meaning of beloved by Ammon, and approved by *Re*, as in fig. 19. Or, by changing the figure of any of these deities, and placing in its stead either the symbol or the figure of another god, we shall have the same phrase, of approved of by that god, whose symbol or figure is attached to the grammatical group in fig. 13.

Another proud title assumed by most, if not all

the rulers of Egypt, is—*the son of the sun*. This, you remember, is invariably expressed by the figure of the bird, or goose of the Nile, over which lies the circle, the symbolical character of the sun, or, as he is called by the Egyptians, of Re. These two characters are invariably at the top of the second oval, [fig. 4, *b*.] which contains the historical name of the sovereign, whether he be a king or an emperor, a queen or an empress; in which latter case we always find the half circle, which is the mark of the feminine gender.

You remember that the god *Re*, or the sun, was looked upon as the king of the visible world, to which he imparted life by his influence and power; and the sovereigns of Egypt, who, in a political point of view, considered themselves as equally beneficial and necessary to the welfare of their country, had established a kind of mystic alliance, of which the ordinary expression was the title which they all bore, of the son of the sun. We find it, in fact, in all the legends of the Pharaohs, of the Ptolemies, and even of the Emperors. The name of Xerxes is the only one which appears without this honour. The hatred, nay, the horror, which the Persian kings at all times exhibited against every religion except that of Zoroaster, may be, perhaps, one of the causes why they themselves disdained a title, the assumption of which might have been considered as if favouring the religion of the Egyptians, which they had so much ridiculed and persecuted. To this very powerful

reason, we may add another, still more so, and that is, the severe measures which the Persian monarchs were often obliged to adopt, while endeavouring to introduce their own religion. This, of course, produced resistance in the natives, gave fresh animation to the bigotry of the Persians, and at last left them no disposition to allow the wretched people the profession of any religion but that of their conquerors.

We find, in fact, the sovereigns of the Greek and the Roman dynasties, who were not inflamed by the same fanaticism of intolerance, who, in the theology of other nations, saw, or imagined they saw, their own gods, easily adopted, from Alexander to Cleopatra, all the titles invented by the Egyptian court; and, by so doing, shewed as much policy as tolerance.

In the legends of the Pharaohs, to this title of *son of the sun*, we often find another added, of the same honorific nature. It is very common, indeed, to meet with, before the name of the sovereign, three more characters, the pedestal, the line, and the serpent, [fig. 20.] which express the word *mair*, composed by *mai*, loving, and *er*, or *ir*, him. For you remember, I hope, that the serpent is both the letter R, and the pronoun *ir*, or *er*, which means *him*. Of this legend, therefore, the meaning is, *Son of the sun, who loves him*.

Other Pharaohs, in the inscriptions raised to their honour, assume a still greater title, that of the *preferred son*, or *favourite son, of the god Re*. [fig. 21.] This proud title is seen, in fact, on the two great

obelisks of Louqsor, at Thebes, and the characters are all phonetic. The bird S, the line E, the crooked line S, the owl an M, the broken line an S, the waving line N, the circle and the line RE, which means, *Se*, the son, altogether spelling *semasen*, or *semasene*, that is, preferred, or chosen,—*an*, by,—*Re*, the sun.

I might extend these observations to a greater length, and produce other instances of all the titles we have as yet discovered, which the monarchs of Egypt occasionally and severally assumed. But the facts which I have offered to your notice will be sufficient, I hope, to explain to you what is meant by the prænomen enclosed in the first of the two rings, which exhibit the names of the Egyptian sovereigns. One observation more I shall add, and that is, that the honorary titles assumed by a king become the exclusive characteristic of that monarch, and are never the same with those assumed by any of his predecessors or successors. Some of the titles, indeed, such as son of the sun, beloved by Amon, by Re, by Horus, and the like, may be found in the legends of other sovereigns; but with these old titles, if I may call them so, we find some others quite new, either for their originality, or for being joined to other titles, so as to produce a new total, and a new legend, which is as peculiarly characteristic of that sovereign, as the specific name by which he is distinguished in history. An exemplification of this sort will form the subject of our next Lecture.

LECTURE VI.

Continuation of the same subject—Ramesses the Great—The Sesostris of the Greeks—Rames-Mei-moun—Legend, exhibiting the name and mystic titles of this Pharaoh round the cover of the Sarcophagus existing in the Museum at Cambridge—Explanation of the legend—Antiquity of the monument—Tomb of the Pharaoh Ousirei opened by Belzoni—Legend of his mystic titles and historical name—Reflexions on the chronology of the Septuagint and the Hebrew text—Table of Abydos—Discoveries made by Champollion, confirming the canon of Manetho—The Hyk-shos, or the shepherd kings—Reflexions—Plan of an expedition—Important results that might be expected from it—Extract from Dugald Stuart.

WE have already made some progress in ascertaining the high antiquity of phonetic hieroglyphics; and we must now go back a little and resume the reading of the inscriptions expressing the names of the Pharaohs. Amongst these inscriptions, containing a royal name, we have mentioned one which, more than any other, is found engraved, and, with some little variation repeated upon almost every ancient monument existing, wherever the Egyptians extended their empire. You remember that it is seen scattered through the whole of Nubia, in that tract of land which lies between the second

cataract of the Nile, and the temple of Philæ ; and it is found painted or engraved all over the walls of the great buildings at Isamboul, Calabsché, Derry, Ghirché, and Ovady, as well as at Esse-boua. It is exhibited and repeated all over Egypt, from Syene to the Mediterranean sea ; on several places of the palace of Karnac ; on the great pillar, and throughout the temple of Louqsor ; all over the tomb of Osymandias ; and, lastly, fills a whole line of the table of Abydos. It is also to be seen on almost every obelisk of ancient date, whether still in Egypt, or removed to a foreign land, as well as on the inscription in two languages or characters existing in Syria, at Nahhar-El-Kelb ; in short, throughout the Egyptian world.

This legend, so many times and so variously repeated, was intended, as we mentioned in a former Lecture, to immortalize the name and the memory of two or three of the greatest Pharaohs that ever held the sceptre of Egypt. Their name was Rameses, or Ramses, of which I offered you the reading in Table 3. fig. 5, *b*, and fig. 7, *a*.

The name of Ramesses seems to have been a favourite name with the Egyptians ; even before the period of which we are now speaking, they gave it to one of the cities which the Pharaoh of the Scriptures granted to the Israelites, as it is recorded in Genesis xlvii. 11. “ And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded.”

This city, therefore, must have been already in existence at the time of Joseph, and it is not to be confounded with the other of the same name, which one of the Pharaohs compelled the Israelites to build during their captivity. This last circumstance is also recorded in the Bible, Exodus i. 11. "and, therefore, they did set over them task-masters, to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses."

The ruins of one of these cities are still to be seen near the village called Schleimi. It formerly stood on the border of a great canal, which carried the water of the Nile into the lake Mariotis. With regard, however, to the Pharaohs who bore this name, it is curious to observe that the cover of the sarcophagus, which held the remains of one of these great princes, now lies at the Museum in Cambridge. The mummy itself may be perishing, it is impossible to say where: it may be meeting the careless gaze of the vulgar, or attracting the reflection of the intelligent, but without a name, and no longer perpetuating the memory of the mighty monarch, who in his lifetime had been styled the Destroyer of his enemies, and the Conqueror of distant nations, who had been honoured by the still more affecting title of the Father of his people, though no doubt, like all other conquerors, he ought rather to have been termed the scourge of mankind. Such is the brief immortality that can be bestowed even by all the genius that is

displayed by the fine arts, even by all the wonders that can be performed by the mere mechanical power of man. This was felt by a mortal of a similar description, the once formidable conqueror of our own times. Buonaparte had been admiring for some time one of the best pictures of Guercino, in the palace of the Louvre, when turning to the Baron Denon, who was attending him, "Que ce tableau est superbe, Denon!" "Oui, Sire; c'est un ouvrage immortel." "Immortel!" cried Buonaparte: "Oui, Sire, immortel." "How long do you think it will last?" "With care, five hundred years." "And how long do you think a statue may last?" "Perhaps two thousand." "Eh bien, Denon, do you call this immortal?"

We now return to the great Egyptian potentate we have just alluded to. The man, the monarch, whose remains were covered by the lid of this sarcophagus, and to whom most of these inscriptions refer, we are informed by history, was a warlike prince, for his image is engraved in relievos, representing sieges, battles, marches, and congresses. He also carried his victorious arms against distant countries, since upon some of the monuments he is represented receiving the homage of the nations he had conquered; their dress and complexions are very different from those of the Egyptians, whose images are equally engraved in the same relievos. From the presents he receives of animals and other productions peculiar to Africa, this prince must have advanced deeply into the interior of

that vast continent, so little now known to us. From the inscriptions of the several temples which have been dedicated to him, it is evident that he was their founder, or their restorer; and we may consequently judge of his power and of his riches.

According to M. Champollion, whose train of reasoning is much too long for a lecture of this sort, the name of this prince was Rameses Mei-amoun, great grandfather of Rameses the Great, the Sesostris of the Greeks, who, according to Manetho, made the conquest of Syria, Phenicia, Babylon, and Media; and was considered one of the greatest princes that ever sat on the throne of Egypt. He received the surname of Great, to distinguish him from other Pharaohs, who bore the name of Rameses.

From the chronological canon of Manetho, it appears that the reign of our Rameses Mei-amoun, was very long, more than sixty years, which seems to correspond with the military expeditions, an account of which is engraved on his palace at Medinet-Habou. The tomb of this prince exists still in the valley of Biban-el-Malouk, to the west of Thebes, which Strabo records to have been opened before his time. This superb excavation resembles greatly that of the Pharaoh Ousirei, which was opened by the labours of the indefatigable and unfortunate Belzoni, the model of which was exhibited for a long time at the Egyptian hall, and which has been mistaken by some for the tomb of Necao, and by others for that of

Psameticus. The legend, in fact, which is contained in the oval exhibiting the name of the prince, whose remains had been laid in that tomb, evidently shews that his name was Ousirei, [Table 7. fig. 22, *b.*] For it is made out by three hieroglyphics, one figurative, and two phonetic,—the figure of *Osiris*, and the two feathers. For you remember that the three characters above, and the two below, are a continuation of his mystic titles, some of which are contained in the first oval, [fig. 22, *a.*] so that the whole legend exhibited in the two ovals would be,—*the Osirian king, (beloved by Re and Smé,) son of the sun, (beloved by Phtha, Ousirei.)*

I shall explain each hieroglyphic. The first two characters are the eye and the throne; [fig. 22, *a.*] They are the symbolical representation of Osiris, in the form usually found before the titles and proper name of the deceased of all classes, and under all circumstances. This god, you remember, is the ruler of the Amenti, and under his jurisdiction all men are placed at the moment of their death. These two hieroglyphics together spell *sek*, or *sok*, and may be considered as symbolico-phonetic. Of the next two characters, the plant is an S, and the half circle is a T, an abbreviation of *Soten*, King. In the oval, the first character is the symbol of the god Phre, the second the figure of the goddess Smé, the goddess of truth and justice; and the last is a synonyme of the plough-share and pedestal, and stands for an M,

Symbol
of Phre
figure of
goddess
Smé
the deity
of truth
and justice

—the last is a synonyme of the
plough share and pedestal
stands for M or Me. —

an abbreviation of *Mei*, loved. The signification of the bird and the circle, at the top of the oval *b*, we have seen to signify, son of the sun. Within it we have the three first characters, which, like those in Table 4. fig. 5, spell the name of the god Phtha. Then follows the name of Ousirei, and the whole concludes with the pedestal, which stands for *Mei*, and the waving line, the mark of the genitive case.

I am glad to hear that Mrs. Belzoni has advertised a publication of all the drawings made by her late husband, about this magnificent tomb, though in the Prospectus I have seen, some errors have been committed in explaining the maps, and much heterogeneous matter has been introduced; but that is not her fault. The work will be published under the patronage of his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, who on this, as on all other occasions, has shewn himself both the friend of the unfortunate, and the enlightened patron of learning. With my heart I wish Mrs. Belzoni the greatest possible success: she is deserving of it on all accounts. The efforts of her husband have been highly serviceable to enlarge our knowledge, and to ascertain several points connected with Egyptian antiquities. His herculean labours have afforded to our scholars, and to M. Champollion most particularly, the means of continuing their learned inquiries.

We must return now to the tomb of Ramesses Mei-amoun. In this tomb there was a sarcopha-

gus of red granite, the cover of which, as I have just mentioned, lies in the vestibule of the Fitzwilliam Museum in the University of Cambridge. As a mark of gratitude for the many favours he had received, Mr. Belzoni presented it to the Rev. G. A. Browne, Fellow of Trinity College; and this gentleman, very generously, wishing still to allow Mr. Belzoni to reap the full benefit of his labours presented it, in Belzoni's name, to the University of Cambridge. Round this cover, amidst other characters, there is the inscription marked in Table 3. fig. 7.

The meaning of this inscription was first interpreted by M. Champollion, and communicated by letter to the same Rev. G. A. Browne. It has since been published by Mr. Yorke, in his work on the Egyptian monuments existing in this country, and it appears to be this. *Osiris, or the Osirian king of the obedient people, Lord of the world, (whom the sun and Saté protect, the beloved of Amon,) the son of the sun, loving the gods, the lord of the three regions, (Ramses the martial,) deceased.*

The first three signs of this inscription I have already explained in decyphering the name of Ousirei. Here, however, we have the addition of the figure of a god, which does not exist in the mystic titles of that Pharaoh; perhaps it was left out for the sake of avoiding confusion by too great a multiplicity of signs.

The other expressions, *King of the obedient*

people, Lord of the world, evidently belong to the person enclosed in the sarcophagus, and prove him to be one of the kings of Egypt. The title of King is expressed by the three following phonetic signs, the first of which is an S, the second a T ; they stand for an abbreviation of the word *Soten*, which means king. The bee, as I stated in a former Lecture, is the symbol of obedience, or rather, the obedient people.

Of the two rings, the first contains the prænomen, or mystic titles ; and the characters which they exhibit produce a legend somewhat different from that which we have just stated. For these characters consist, first of a circle, which is the symbolic expression of the god *Phré* ; secondly, of a post or sceptre, with a jackall's or dog's head at the top. This, according to Horapollo, was the symbol of *watching*, or *watchfulness*, and, therefore, often taken for a *guardian* ; for it is not to be confounded with the other character of nearly the same sort, which, in Table 4. fig. 4, we stated to be the symbol of the deity. The third hieroglyphic is the image of *Smé*, the goddess of *truth and justice*, which in the first edition of his "Système," M. Champollion had taken for *Saté*. The next three characters spell the name of *Amon*, and the last, you remember, is an M, and stands for the participle *Mai*, beloved. Therefore the whole put together would be, "*the guardian sun of justice and truth, beloved by Ammon.*" And so, in fact, has M. Champollion explained these characters in

the second edition of his "Précis du Système Hieroglyphique."

After this ring we meet with six characters; the first, as we have already observed, is phonetic, stands for an S, and is an abbreviation of *se*, which means *son*; the second is figurative, and represents the image of the *sun*, and both together signify *son of the sun*.

Of the next two characters, the plough-share is an M, and stands for *Mei*, which, as it precedes the symbolical character of the deity, means *loving*; and the three units, which express the plural, allow us to read them, *loving the gods*.

The other two characters mean the lord of the three regions, that is, Upper, Lower, and Middle Egypt. For the sign at the top, you remember, is the symbol of power, the two small half circles under it, placed upon one another, are the emblem of a country, or, more properly, of Egypt, and the three units signify the three portions of this country, that is, the upper, the middle, and the lower.

The next frame, marked *a*, exhibits the historical name of the mummy contained in the sarcophagus, and it is composed of four signs; the first is the figurative expression of the god *Re*; the next is an M, and each of the two last is an S; so that the whole spells Ra-m-ses.

Of the next two characters, M. Champollion interprets the meaning to be martial, but I do not know the reason, for he assigns none.

The last two signs, which conclude the inscription, are phonetic. The first is an N, the second I do not know. But they are an abbreviation of a larger group, which M. Champollion considers as terminating every funeral inscription.

The last observation I shall make, is, that in this legend we have, as usual, a mixture of figurative, symbolical, and phonetic characters, employed indiscriminately.

M. Champollion has shewn that this Ramses Mei-amoun was the fifteenth king of the eighteenth dynasty, which was called diospolitian, because the kings who belonged to this dynasty were of a Theban family, and in the neighbourhood of that city they had their sepulchres. To him we must ascribe the building of the great palace of Medineh-tabou; and, in fact, the name of this prince is engraved on every part of this superb edifice; just as the names of Ptolemy Philometor, and of Evergetes II., are found all over the temple of Ombos, the foundation of which, according to the Greek historians, is due to these two princes of the Lagid dynasty.

Perhaps, by way of a digression, I may be allowed to observe a great similarity of significations of the word *Tabou*, in the Egyptian language, and in the dialect used by the inhabitants of several islands in the Pacific ocean. In both these languages this word means *sacred*, no matter whether sacred to the living or to the dead. You remember the account which Captain Cook gives. For

a long time the natives would not allow him to enter a place enclosed by a kind of paling; and for a long time the English commodore was not able to find out the reason of this prohibition. Whenever he made an attempt to enter the place, he was told he could not, because it was *tabou*, or *taboued*; and it was after he became acquainted with their language and their customs, that he found out that the word *tabou* signified sacred, and that the place was so called because it contained their dead.

Indeed, if we were to follow the analogy which navigators and travellers have found in the language and customs of many of the most distant nations both in the old and the new continent, and especially among the savages of the Pacific Ocean, we should be surprised at the great similarity which exists in the customs and languages of both the one and the other, and which evidently proves a common origin, a common descent, and a common stock. It is from considerations like these that Carli, who had well studied the origin of languages, and the annals of mankind, asserted that the Egyptians had peopled America. This is not the place, nor indeed the time, for me to develope the ingenious system of the learned antiquarian, nor the mode by which the descendants of Noah have spread far and wide throughout the world. This subject, so interesting in itself and in its consequences, requires to be treated in a regular, not in a cursory way: and perhaps at a future time I

may endeavour to offer to your consideration facts which will excite your curiosity, and command your attention. “La terre,” says Fontenelle, “est une vieille coquette, elle tache en vain avec sa parure de cacher les rides de son visage.”

But to return to our inscriptions.

However high may appear the antiquity of the monument belonging to Ramesses Mei-amoun, Champollion has discovered others referring to Pharaohs whose reigns belong to a still more ancient period. From amongst them we may record the monument raised to Amenophis II., whose colossus, under the name of Memnon, excited for a long time the curiosity of the Greeks and of the Romans. From the inscriptions engraved on this colossus, as well as on the ruins of the Memnonium, it appears that this prince was the founder of the magnificent temple and palace at Louqsor; by his victories, he extended the limits of his empire for more than one hundred leagues beyond the island of Philæ, which was the farthest boundary of ancient Egypt; and at Soleb, as high as the twentieth degree, north latitude, his name and exploits are still to be seen engraved on those magnificent ruins, surrounded by images of several nations in a state of captivity.

This Pharaoh, with two more of his predecessors, whose legends are given by Champollion, belong to the early princes of the eighteenth dynasty, the most brilliant period of the Egyptian monarchy, preceding, as he says, the Christian æra

by not less than 1800 years ; for during, or about, this time, happened the great events recorded by the sacred as well as by profane history ; such as the expulsion of the shepherd kings, or Hyk-shos ; the restoration of the ancient monarchy ; the conquest of many distant nations ; the construction of most of the magnificent buildings of Thebes and Nubia ; the departure of the Israelites under the guidance of Moses ; the emigration into Greece of the Egyptian colonies, headed by Danaus. But, although the learned antiquarian be perfectly correct, in ascribing to this period the passing of all these events, he is most undoubtedly wrong in regard to the mode in which he reckons their chronology, for the antiquity of these monuments mounts to a much earlier period, as I shall prove in a future Lecture.

These historical facts are incontrovertible. They derive their certainty not only from the inscriptions engraved on these monuments, but also from the chronological canon of Manetho, which, very undeservedly, has been looked upon as of doubtful authority by some of the critics ; but it seems that the table of Abydos has established the veracity of the Egyptian historian in a manner which was never suspected by these critics.

The ruins of this ancient and formerly splendid city lie on the western coast of the Nile, between the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth degree north latitude, and near the entrance of the great Oasis. Close by are seen other ruins of a royal palace,

formerly the residence of a king of Egypt, named Memnon, or Ismandes, by the Greeks. This name, *Ismandes*, is supposed, and not without reason, to be a corruption of the Egyptian *Osymandias*, whom Manetho also calls *Sesokhris*, one of the sovereigns of the twelfth dynasty, who reigned above 3000 years before Christ; for it is to this remote epoch that the monuments of Abydos reach, if Ismandes, or Osymandias be considered as the founder of that city; an epoch which is by no means incredible, provided we follow the chronology of the Septuagint.

Perhaps I may be allowed to observe, *en passant*, that the difference between the computation of the Hebrew text, which we now follow, and that of the Septuagint, which we have disregarded, is, according to the most moderate calculation, no less than, 1437 years; a period sufficiently long to account for these events, the antiquity of which may at first startle us, and excite our unbelief.

It might also be mentioned, that we have adopted the Hebrew chronology, since the time of the Reformation. An attempt, indeed, to introduce it had been made long before this period, by the venerable Bede, in the eighth century, but with very little success; for the fact is, that up to the second century of our æra, there was no difference whatever between the reckoning of the Hebrew text, and that of the Septuagint; and even when Luther roused the attention of Europe, the authority of that version, and the unanimous consent

of the primitive writers, were still found to regulate the age of the world. In the warmth of controversy, the more rigid Protestants, in condemning the chronology of the Samaritan text, condemned also the computation of the Septuagint, and, without examining the grounds of their opinion, decided that the numbers of the original text were to be preferred to those of any version. Influenced by this opinion, they bestowed the weight of their authority upon the Jewish side of the question, and opposed that which the Christians had maintained from the days of the Apostles, which corresponds also with the computation of profane writers, who had used it before Christ.

As this question will form the subject of a future Lecture, I think it proper to make here but one observation, and that is, that the alteration in the chronology of the Hebrew text did not take place before the beginning of the second century of our æra. For a long time this alteration remained, if not unnoticed, at least disregarded; because the translation of the Septuagint was generally used by all the Christian writers, as well as by all the Pagans who had lived long before and after Christ. From these facts, then, it follows, that without again adopting the chronology of the Septuagint, it is impossible to account for historical facts, to which not the least shadow of doubt can possibly be attached.

Mira sed et scenâ testificata loquor.

To those of my hearers who wish to make themselves acquainted with this subject, I beg to recommend the introduction to "A Connection of Sacred and Profane History," by Dr. Russell; a work in which the reader will find exhibited, in a short, but luminous manner, what has been written, and what is worth knowing, upon this important subject.

But to return; it is to the chronological table of Abydos, that I must now call your attention.

You remember, I hope, that this table consists of forty ovals, or rings, arranged in three horizontal lines; the two first lines contain the prænomen only, that is, the mystic titles of the Pharaohs who lived before Ramesses; and the third line is merely made by the repetition of the name and prænomen of this last Pharaoh, both of which are exhibited throughout the line in two distinct ovals, one containing his name, the other the prænomen. Now as every one, and all these mystic titles, or prænomena of the two first lines differ from one another, it is evident that they belonged to different individuals. But as the prænomen was not sufficient by itself to enable our antiquarians to ascertain to which of the Pharaohs each of them belonged, this monument, valuable as it is, would have been of no use, unless, by other means, we could have found also their historical name.

Now this has been done by Champollion. This indefatigable scholar, by dint of immense labour,

by comparing the prænomina of the table of Abydos with the same prænomina engraved on other inscriptions, and other monuments, to which the historical name was also attached, has succeeded in finding out and explaining the whole of the middle line; and has ascertained that these prænomina belonged to the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty, beginning from the Pharaoh Thoutmosis, and ending at Amenophis III., perfectly corresponding in regard to the order of the succession and the length of their reign, with those mentioned by Manetho.

This is very satisfactory; but a second discovery made by M. Champollion, which though not less important is unfortunately less gratifying, is this: that the existing monuments of Egypt, with few exceptions, do not ascend higher than the reign of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth century, the rest having been destroyed during the usurpation of the shepherd kings of the seventeenth dynasty. Some remains, however, of more ancient monuments are still to be found intermixed with those which the magnificence of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty caused again to be both raised and restored, after the expulsion of those barbarians. Such, for instance, are the remains of a still more considerable edifice, built by the order of the Pharaoh Ousi-mandouei, which were religiously introduced into the plan of the palace of Karnac, which was raised by the order of Amenophis III. On these old remains, the name and prænomen of

Ousi-mandouei are to be seen engraved in relievo. Of this Ousi-mandouei the Greeks have made a second Ismandes, or Osymandias; for you remember they had given the same name of Ismandes to the Pharaoh Osymandias, who had built the palace at Abydos. Of the Pharaoh Ousi-mandouei of Karnac, Diodorus relates the wonderful achievements upon the authority of the Egyptian annals. He lived 2272 years before Christ, nearly two centuries before the invasion of the shepherds; and this seems the most ancient date of the authentic monuments still existing in Egypt, according to M. Champollion. I call them authentic, because their date is ascertained.

This striking fact certainly confirms the history of Manetho, for it proves that the chronological table of Abydos corresponds with the legends engraved on the monuments of Nubia and Egypt; and both together they produce the series of kings mentioned by the Egyptian historian, placed genealogically, as the sovereigns of the eighteenth dynasty, just as the ovals of their prænomena are situated in the middle line of the table of Abydos.

From this fact, we have every possible reason to suppose, that the ovals still undecyphered of the first line of that interesting table, belong to princes who reigned during an earlier period. Admitting, therefore, the truth of the assertion, that the Hyk-shos destroyed most, if not all the monuments existing in Egypt at the time of their invasion, we must not be surprised at the hatred which

the Egyptians felt at the very name of these shepherds. This hatred seems to have pervaded the whole nation, and to have been transmitted unabated to their posterity. The Egyptian monuments are to this day covered with pictures and relievos, exhibiting these barbarians in a kneeling and submissive posture, loaded with chains, and in the act of imploring mercy; and it is by no means a rare circumstance to observe, that the shoes found in and out of the sepulchres are stamped outside the sole, with the figure of one of these strangers in the posture I have just described. This must have been a necessary consequence of their ferocious conduct, and of the desolation they brought on the land of Egypt; for in the fragments of Manetho, whenever this historian speaks of these barbarians, he represents them under the most hateful colours that can be imagined. He exhibits them as the destroyers of every public institution, barbarous, lawless, intent only on rapine and murder, reducing women and children to slavery, murdering all men capable of bearing arms, and carrying fire and sword wherever they went. But such are the scourges of mankind, whom human folly has misnamed conquerors!

The irruption of the Hyk-shos seems to have taken place about 2082 years before Christ, in the sixth year of the reign of Timaus Concharis, the last prince of the sixteenth dynasty, which had been founded 190 years before that event, by the Pharaoh Ousi-mandouei. It also seems, that the

Pharaohs who had succeeded the unfortunate Timaus, unable to withstand the barbarians, retired into the Thebaide, and became even tributaries of these usurpers. Issuing from their retreat, as they acquired strength, they ventured, with various success, to attack the Hyk-shos, and after a period of 260 years the Pharaoh Misphtagmouthosis, having killed an immense number of these barbarians, drove the remainder of them to their last shelter, the town of Aouaris. This was the frontier town towards Assyria, which the Hyk-shos had fortified, and its very name exhibits another proof of the hatred of the Egyptians towards these barbarians. Aouaris, in fact, is a composition of two Coptic words, *oua* and *iri*, which signify to give a curse, to give a malediction. But this is not the only appellation by which it was designated; we find it occasionally called *Thatiphoou*, which means "the dwelling of Typhon," or "Typhonia," from having been the residence of the Hyk-shos, whom the Egyptians compared to Typhon, the author of all evil.

The victorious Pharaoh, however, did not leave them long unmolested, and his son and successor, named Thoutmosis, now master of the whole of Egypt, brought up so large a force against them, that the Hyk-shos, unable to oppose him, left the country and retired into Syria, about the year 1822 before Christ, and the Pharaoh Thoutmosis, for having delivered his country from the tyranny

of these barbarians, became the chief of the eighteenth dynasty.

It is, indeed, gratifying, after the lapse of hundreds, nay, thousands of years, to find authentic monuments, which establish so many historical facts, of which some have been controverted, others denied. Further discoveries will, no doubt, afford to our posterity, if not to ourselves, the means of ascertaining what we still require to know, and supply the loss of the work of Manetho. M. Champollion has, in fact, made some valuable discoveries, and these, I have no doubt, are the harbingers of still greater ones. He has already, in his portfolio, copies of inscriptions, which are of an invaluable importance, to establish the chronology of Egypt. Among these, there is a copy of the chronological part of an inscription at Alexandria, which ascertains the chronology of the last of the Saïtes, of the twenty-sixth dynasty. He has also copies of the hieroglyphic inscriptions engraved on the rocks, on the road to Cosseir, which give the express duration of the reigns of the kings of the Persian dynasty; and on his return to Thebes, he expects an immense harvest of historical facts. These are his words: "Since I have been running through Thebes for the space of four days, I have already collected important documents."

I think I have already mentioned that in inspecting at Aix, the collection of MSS. of M. Sallier,

he has discovered two papyri, containing "the history, expeditions, and victories of Sesostris." The MSS. are said to bear the date of the ninth year of the reign of this prince; and the events recorded in them seem to agree perfectly with those engraved on the wall of the tomb of this prince, opened by Belzoni at Ibsamboul.

Indeed, if the hope of an important discovery can possibly be entertained, it is in the prosecution of the plan imagined and begun by this indefatigable traveller; and that is, by digging under the ruins of Thebes, and searching under mountains of sand, for the lost treasures of ancient learning. It is in the abode of the Hierophantes, in the secret repositories of their ruined temples, in the subterraneous passages, which served as a security to the priesthood, that we may indulge the hope of hereafter obtaining materials that will enlarge our knowledge concerning the sacred hieroglyphical language of the Egyptians, and these may lead us to important conclusions. From the little, the very little I have been able to collect about the mysteries of Isis, and of the doctrines which they inculcated, I have no doubt that much, if not the whole of the knowledge of the ancient Greek philosophers was derived from Memphis and from Thebes.

It has even been asserted, and I have every reason to believe the assertion, that what now seems a production of our times, the excavated way under the Thames, which seems to baffle our

skill, or to exceed our strength, has been practised by the Egyptians at a time of the most distant antiquity. Underneath their great capitals, Memphis and Thebes, and underneath their principal nomes, stretched far and wide the secret subterraneous passages, which, without a movement being seen or known by the people, placed all the temples, and the mighty capitals of Egypt, under the access and control of those among the priesthood, to whom their winding maze was known. The assemblage of all these avenues, or labyrinths, seems to have terminated in three points; and, though they diverged apparently to an endless inextricable maze, yet when the master-key was known, this seeming intricacy was found regulated by the nicest geometrical skill, and most correct precision. These three important points, or centres, are still in existence, though blocked up by mountains of rubbish and sand. If we are rightly informed, they are to be sought in the Memnonian plain of the Thebaide temple of the mysteries; near the sacred lake of Mœris, and the labyrinth of the lower districts; and lastly in the pyramids which are, as it were, the heart of Memphis, occupying the middle and the important central points. Had Belzoni continued his excavations in this last abode of man, we might, perhaps, by this time be in possession of some valuable document, that would open to us the road to this knowledge: but he gave up the task, and, like all other travellers, directed his attention and his efforts to the ruins of Karnak

and Lugsor, and to the tombs of the short-lived race of some of the Pharaohs.

I am aware, that many learned men have held, and do still hold, a contrary opinion, on the ground that in the inscriptions already decyphered, there is no other mention made besides the Egyptian pantheon, which, no doubt, in the corrupt state in which it has reached us, is sufficiently absurd. But if we consider the nature of these inscriptions, which, numerous as they are, all belong to the votive or sepulchral kind, it will appear, that this severity of judgment, upon the learning of the Egyptian priests, is rather premature. We know that the Egyptians were idolaters; we know that their idolatry, in later times, was of the most degrading kind, and, therefore, we must expect, in these public monuments of their public worship, the representation of the same doctrines which disgraced their creed. It is not, therefore, among these monuments that we can hope to discover the philosophy or the knowledge of the priesthood. If this knowledge was ever put into writing, for which we have the authority of many ancient writers, it must have been written in the sacred language, and in the sacred characters kept concealed by the priests, whose very existence depended on the secrecy of their doctrine. The seal of secrecy under which some of their doctrines were revealed to the initiated in the mysteries of Isis, the great trials to which the aspirants were exposed, before they were admitted to these myste-

ries, are so many proofs of the truth of my assertion. It is generally allowed, that among these doctrines, the priests taught the unity of God, the immortality of the soul, a future life of reward and punishment, an utter contempt for the Egyptian deities, whom they styled mere men, deified by the imbecility and the credulity of mankind.

This admits of no doubt. On the other hand, the mere inspection of their hieroglyphics, the mode they have employed of applying the symbolical properties of things and animals to express abstract ideas, and the record we have from the sacred pages of the wonders exhibited by the priests of Pharaoh, in opposition to the miracles performed by Moses, must inspire us with no mean idea of their knowledge in science and natural history. The same must be said of their success in the several arts. Their immense buildings, their magnificent statues, the Colossus of Memnon, the division of their tombs, the beautiful colours with which they have stained their different compartments, shew a boldness of invention, and a delicacy of execution, which cannot but surprise the beholder, and prove the high degree of civilization of the people, who could imagine and execute these superb and magnificent monuments, first-rate works of imagination and skill, exhibiting such a beauty of execution, especially in the most pleasing arts.

These are all interesting subjects of inquiry, from which we may expect very great and very

important results, for there is no saying where they may lead us. But another and a still greater advantage, I conceive, might be derived from our obtaining a proper and perfect knowledge of the reading of the hieroglyphics, and that is, information respecting the mode by which mankind have peopled the earth, and the primitive civilization of Egypt.

It seems that both Nubia and Ethiopia abound with a great number of monuments, covered with hieroglyphics, perfectly similar, both in regard to form and disposition, to those which are found on the buildings of Thebes. But by inspecting more closely these legends, we find that the names of the sovereigns mentioned in the Nubian inscriptions are exactly the same with those recorded on the Egyptian monuments; while the names of the sovereigns engraved on the pillars and buildings found in Ethiopia, have not the least resemblance to either of them. They are, indeed, composed of the same hieroglyphical characters, they represent deities endowed with the same symbolic qualifications, they are disposed in the same form, and seem to possess the same titles, but they produce names which hitherto are entirely unknown; and what is more, these names are never found repeated on any of the numberless monuments existing in Nubia or Egypt.

From these facts several important consequences may be drawn; the first is, that there has been a time in which the civilized part of Ethiopia, the

peninsula of Meroes, and all the country on both banks of the Nile, from Meroes to Dongola, was inhabited by a nation, who had a language, writing, and a religion similar to those of Egypt, without however depending on the Egyptian sovereigns of Thebes and Memphis.

From this consideration, very important in itself, a question arises, which is still more so; and that is, has civilization from Egypt reached Ethiopia, or have mankind, from Ethiopia, gradually spread themselves along the course of the Nile, and carried population and civilization to the shores of the Mediterranean? In the first case, the Egyptian nation must have had an Asiatic origin; and in the second, it must have come from a race of men indigenous to Africa, to this ancient part of our globe, which shews every where the most striking feature of exhaustion and decrepitude.

That Ethiopia once was the cradle of mankind, the place where arts, literature, and science were first invented, is an opinion which has been advanced and supported by the best scholars of almost every nation of modern Europe; amongst whom may be enumerated Carli, and Sir W. Jones. The physical constitution of the Egyptians, their customs, their manners, the social organization of their government, had but a very small resemblance to the natural and political existence of the people inhabiting the west of Asia, who were their nearest neighbours. The Egyptian language had scarcely any similarity with the eastern languages,

and the Egyptian mode of writing was not less different from that which had been adopted by the Phœnicians, the Babylonians, and the Persians. Every thing, in short, seems to indicate the Egyptians to have been a people perfectly strangers to the continent of Asia.

Add to this the difficulty and the hardship to which the first inhabitants of Egypt, supposing them to have come from the Asiatic shores, must have been necessarily exposed, in a country annually subjected to a long and general inundation, such as the valley situated between the first cataract of the Nile, and the Mediterranean.

The reading of the hieroglyphics will undoubtedly decide this important question; as far as Soleb, which lies about one hundred leagues nearer to the equator than the island of Philæ, we find the last monument which bears the name of an Egyptian king; he is one of the Pharaohs, the Ramses, or Ramesses, who lived 3600 years before our time, 1800 years before Christ, and scarce 300 after the flood, according to the chronology of the Hebrew Bible, but much earlier, according to the computation of the Septuagint. At such distance of time, Nubia was inhabited by a nation speaking the same language, using the same mode of hieroglyphical writing, professing the same religion, and governed by the same sovereigns who ruled over Egypt.

The difficulty consists in being able accurately to distinguish the monuments of the most ancient

date, from those whose antiquity does not ascend so high, and with which they are perpetually intermixed ; to fix correctly the epoch in which they were raised, and thus to ascertain the gradual alteration which took place, not only in the mode of hieroglyphical writing, but also in the notions of mankind, in the extent of their civilization, and in the manner with which they cultivated arts and sciences.

But I am not inclined to despair. The resources of the human mind are immense ; the effects of perseverance, joined to talent, incalculable. Notwithstanding the taste which seems to have affected all ranks for light reading and books of amusement, the thirst after knowledge certainly seems to be the characteristic of our age. Among the scholars of the present day, there are still to be found not a few who toil after useful and solid pursuits, and who spurning the ephemeral reputation of seeing their productions upon the toilets and tea-tables of our fashionables, direct their attention to useful and laborious studies. Among our men of power, there are still some who generously offer pecuniary assistance to talent, and who would cheerfully contribute to the expences of the intrepid traveller, who should engage in an African expedition, for the decided object of searching after monuments of Egyptian antiquity.

The repeated attempts, encouraged by Government, as well as by private individuals, at finding out a passage to Asia by the North Sea, or at ascertaining the course of the Niger, have al-

ready cost the nation many lives and many thousands of pounds. The time will come, when, with less danger, the resources of England will be applied to the discovery of the treasures scattered through the whole of Nubia and Ethiopia, buried under the ruins of past grandeur, and hidden by the immense mountains of sand which cover the plains of the Thebaide.

The French Government has already dispatched no less a man than Champollion on an expedition of this kind; and I have already alluded to the discoveries he has made, which are but the harbingers of those he will undoubtedly make. I fear, however, that that learned traveller will direct his attention to other topics; and I do think that the French Government would not be inclined to supply the enormous expences attending an expedition on the plan I recommend. But I have no doubt, that if such an expedition was undertaken under the direction of a man of talent, well versed in the Hebrew, Coptic, and Arabian languages, possessing the indefatigable perseverance of Belzoni, and a mind well stored with solid and *unprejudiced* knowledge; I have no doubt, I say, that this man, by the discoveries he would make throughout the north-east of Africa, would give a new turn to our knowledge of antiquity, and surprise the modern nations of Europe by the account of the gigantic undertakings of the primitive inhabitants of that magnificent continent. Indeed the discoveries of the lamented Belzoni give ample

room to suppose that our expectation would not be deceived; and had he joined to his wonderful strength and remarkable perseverance a mind equally cultivated, we might at the present moment possess what will require the powerful assistance of time. In my own mind, I repeat it, I have no doubt, and feel not the least hesitation in asserting, that an underground communication existed between Thebes and Memphis; that the Pyramids themselves were connected with the system imagined by the Hierophantes, as well as the Government of Egypt; and that records of some sort must be found in these subterraneous abodes of the Egyptian priests.

As a concluding remark, I may mention, that it is very possible, that, from hieroglyphic inscriptions, if they could be found in sufficient number, very striking illustrations might be discovered of our sacred Scriptures. I have noted some in the course of these Lectures, and I may perhaps be permitted to conclude by a reference to them.

In one of the hieroglyphic inscriptions which I read to you, was seen the name of Potipherah; and there was seen also the name of Asenath. These hieroglyphics come from two different MSS., one of which is in the cabinet of the king of France, the other in the possession of the Earl of Mountnorris, and from a little enamelled statue. Observe, now, the text in the Bible, that runs thus, in Genesis xli. 45: "And he gave him to wife Asenath, the daughter of Poti-

pherah, priest of On." On, as I observed in a former Lecture, is the name the Egyptians gave to the town called Heliopolis by the Greeks.

Again ; in one of the hieroglyphical inscriptions found at Karnac, we see the name of Osorchon. I produced one of the legends. Now Osorchon in the Coptic is called Zerach ; and in the second book of Chronicles xiv. 9. we have, " And there came out against them Zerah, the Ethiopian, with a host of a thousand thousand and three hundred chariots."

Again ; there were several of the Pharaohs who were called Ramesses ; and this name perpetually appears in hieroglyphical inscriptions. It seems that out of respect for some of these princes, the Egyptians had given this name of Ramesses to some of their towns. Two of them are recorded in three different places of the Pentateuch. In Genesis xlvii. 11. we have, " And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, &c. in the best of land, in the land of Ramesses." In Numbers xxxiii. 3. speaking of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, we find, " And they departed from Ramesses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month," &c. And in Exodus i. 11. Moses, recording the hardships to which Pharaoh had condemned the Israelites, says, " And therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens ; and they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses."

Again ; in our third Lecture I produced the

hieroglyphic legend mentioning the name of Chershak, or Shishak; and in the second book of Chronicles, the name of this prince is mentioned not less than three times in the twelfth chapter; first, in the second verse we have these words: "In the fifth year of king Rehoboam, Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem." In the fifth verse we read, "Then came Shemaiah, the prophet, to Rehoboam, and to the princes of Judah, that were gathered together to Jerusalem, because of Shishak, and said unto them, thus saith the Lord, Ye have forsaken me, and therefore I have left you in the hand of Shishak." And, lastly, in the ninth verse we have, "Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house; he took all, and carried away also the shields of gold which Solomon had made."

Again; in the same third Lecture, I mentioned the names of two Pharaohs which Mr. Salt, our consul at Alexandria, had discovered among the ruins at Medinet-habou; and one of these Pharaohs was called *Tiraka*. Now in the second book of Kings xix. 9., we find this Pharaoh mentioned in these words, "And when he heard say of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, behold, he is come out to fight against thee."

Again; the name of the Pharaoh Neco, which is seen engraved and painted in many places of the ruins at Thebes, is mentioned in the second book of Chronicles xxxiii. 20., in these words: "After

all this, when Josiah had prepared the temple, Necho, king of Egypt, came up to fight against Carchemish, by Euphrates:" and it may also be added, that the hatred which the Egyptians entertained against the Hyk-shos, or shepherds, as it is mentioned by Manetho, and appears from the monuments, is also recorded in Genesis xlii. 34., in the advice which Joseph gives to his brethren, in these words: "And it shall come to pass, when Pharaoh shall call you, and shall say, What is your occupation? that ye shall say, Thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth, even until now, both we and also our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians."

And now that I am taking leave of hieroglyphics, I cannot but cast my eyes back on the different religious opinions which, from time to time, seem to have been held by the Egyptians. Originally, it seems, that the unity of God, and the certainty of a life to come, were the first and only tenets of their religion. But, obliged to speak to rude and ignorant people, the priests had recourse to symbols, to render more evident to the eyes of the vulgar, the different attributes of the deity. In progress of time, these symbols lost their primitive significations, and the figures, which were but an expression of these attributes, were afterwards considered as different and distinct deities, though not quite unconnected with the Supreme Being. Thus, the representation of the goddess Neith, and

the god Phtha, of the goddess Saté, and the goddess Smé, of the god Phre, of Osiris, of Isis, and Anubis, were no longer considered as visible signs of the different attributes of Ammon, but as distinct deities, who, with him, had organized the world, and given laws to mankind. The representation itself of the Amenti, and the weighing of the soul of the deceased, which originally had been but a visible mode of imparting the notion of the rewards or punishments attending a future life for the conduct held in this, was, in progress of time, believed to be a real trial, held before the tribunal of Osiris; and the symbolical figures of Hermes, Smé, Anubis, and Osiris himself, which were intended to exhibit the justice and the mercy of the Supreme Being, and the record he kept of all the actions of men, were, in progress of time, erected into so many different deities, who acted by the immutable decree of Ammon, but perfectly distinct from him, both in substance and power.

The main point, however, was never lost sight of; Ammon still continued to be the Demiurgos; the Amenti still was considered as the place where the souls of the dead were ordered to appear to receive judgment for the conduct they had held in this life, to be either condemned to perpetual punishment, or preserved for eternal happiness. And notwithstanding the fatal encroachment of idolatry, and the degrading superstition which corruption had introduced in their creed, the unity of God, the certainty of a life to come, the eternity

of punishment or of reward, continued to constitute, to the very end of the Egyptian empire, the most important tenets inculcated by the religion of the people.

Of the manner in which this tenet was taught to the people in a sensible manner, I exhibited a curious specimen in a former Lecture; [Table 5.] and here, perhaps, I may be permitted to observe, that this weighing of souls, such as it was represented by the Egyptians, has been exhibited nearly in the same manner, by most of the pagans, and generally by the primitive Christians. It is not an uncommon thing, even in this country, to meet in some old churches with paintings of this sort. Among other instances, I am told that on the screen in the church at Preston, a village not far from Brighton, a fresco painting still exists, in which two souls are weighed against one another. Although the painting be much injured, on account of having been white-washed, it is still sufficiently perfect to allow a beholder to comprehend the nature of the subject: and I have seen a print, in which the Archangel Michael is represented weighing the souls of the dead, thrusting those whose good works are found light to his left hand, where they are seized upon by the devils, who are waiting for them, while those whose virtues cause the scale to preponderate in their favour are turned off to the right, and introduced to St. Peter, previously to their being admitted into Paradise.

And here I cannot avoid referring to a pas-

sage of one of your celebrated writers, in his elements of the philosophy of the human mind, which must be considered extremely elegant in expression, and profound and just in sentiment. He is speaking of the different opinions of mankind, on the important question of religion and morality. "The variety of systems," he says, "which they have formed to themselves concerning these subjects, has often excited the ridicule of the sceptic and the libertine; but if, on the one hand, this variety shews the folly of bigotry, and the reasonableness of mutual indulgence; the curiosity which has led men, in every situation, to such speculations, and the influence which their conclusions, however absurd, have had on their character and their happiness, prove, no less clearly on the other, that there must be some principles from which they all derive their origin, and invite the philosopher to ascertain what are these original and immutable laws of the human mind. In truth, the more striking the contradictions, and the more ludicrous the ceremonies, to which the pride of human reason has thus been reconciled, the stronger is our evidence that religion has a foundation in the nature of man. When the greatest of modern philosophers (Lord Bacon, in his Essays) declares, that 'he would rather believe all the fables in the legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind;' he has expressed the same feeling,

which, in all ages and nations, has led good men, unaccustomed to reasoning, to an implicit faith in the creed of their infancy; a feeling which affords an evidence of the existence of the Deity, incomparably more striking than if, unmixed with error, and undebased by superstition, this most important of all principles had commanded the universal assent of mankind. Where are the other truths in the whole circle of the sciences, which are so essential to human happiness, as to procure an easy access, not only for themselves, but for whatever opinions may happen to be blended with them? Where are the truths so venerable and commanding, as to impart their own sublimity to every trifling memorial which recalls them to remembrance; to bestow solemnity and elevation on every mode of expression by which they are conveyed; and which, in whatever scene they have habitually occupied the thoughts, consecrate every object which it presents to our senses, and the very ground we have been accustomed to tread? To attempt to weaken the authority of such impressions, by a detail of the endless variety of forms, which they derive from casual associations, is surely an employment unsuited to the dignity of philosophy. To the vulgar, it may be amusing in this, as in other instances, to indulge their wonder at what is new or uncommon; but to the philosopher it belongs to perceive, under all these various disguises, the working of the same common nature; and in the superstitions of the

later ages of the Egyptian religion, not less than in the lofty visions of Plato, to recognise the existence of those moral ties, which unite the heart of man to the Author of his being."

The justice of these observations will appear, in a more striking manner, in a future Lecture, on the origin of idolatry.

LECTURE VII.

History of figurative hieroglyphics—Their general use amongst mankind—Explanation of the Mexican mode of writing by representation of the object—Alterations introduced by the Egyptians—Causes which must have produced them—Attempt at explaining some of the characters.

I HAVE now explained, in as comprehensive a way as I could, the whole of the discoveries which have been made hitherto in the decyphering of hieroglyphics. Our scholars may now, by the assistance of the Coptic language, and with comparatively little trouble, read almost any and every inscription which can be found amongst the Egyptian monuments. But although this may be a great satisfaction, yet there are other topics connected with this celebrated country of Egypt, which now command our attention. Who, for instance, were these dreaded Hyk-shos, or shepherd kings? Who was the Pharaoh that protected Joseph, and admitted the Israelites into Egypt? Who was the other Pharaoh who opposed Moses? What were the celebrated mysteries of Isis? What was their nature and their import? Have they been the cause, or have they been the consequence, of ido-

latry? In either case, were they connected with the theology of the people? Can any thing respecting them be collected from their literature? and if so, of what character was the Egyptian literature? How was it made public, how preserved? Are there any records from which we can collect some information concerning this important question? And, above all, how were these books written? Did the Egyptians always make use of the alphabet? and if so, what is the origin of hieroglyphics? and, on the other hand, if these latter were the first invented and employed, by what step did the Egyptians come to the discovery of the alphabet?

These are all important, curious, and highly interesting questions, which command the attention of the scholar, as well as the general reader, and they will furnish us with the subject for the remaining part of these Lectures. Amongst these, the invention of the alphabet seems the first to claim our attention; and, therefore, in this Lecture we shall confine our research to the origin and manner of writing adopted by the Egyptians, which, from time immemorial, has attracted the attention of the learned, but which, till the present moment, seemed to have been enveloped in fables and obscurity. Indeed, the variety of opinions held on this subject, even now, is appalling. Many, in fact, pretend that the Egyptians had three different manners of writing; others, that they had only two. The acute Warburton asserted that they

had four ; and not a few have strenuously supported, that hieroglyphical writing was the only mode in use amongst them, because, according to the hypothesis adopted by these writers, to other nations was due the credit of having invented the alphabet.

To clear up so much uncertainty will be the object of this and the next Lecture. To do so, it will be necessary to inquire what were the precise notions of the ancients in regard to hieroglyphics, and what information can we derive from the writings of the moderns ? We must then proceed to trace, if possible, the origin of the hieroglyphics.

Clement, a priest of Alexandria, who lived about the end of the second century of our æra, a man of great learning, and who had paid a great deal of attention to the study of antiquity, asserted that the Egyptians had three different modes of writing, or, in other words, three different sorts of characters. These were, the *epistolographic*, or common characters, used in all the common transactions of life ; the *hieratic*, or sacerdotal, employed merely in the writing of books by the priesthood ; and the *hieroglyphics*, destined to religious uses, and generally on public monuments. Of the former sets of characters, Clement does no more than mention the names, because, being alphabetical, and consequently not very different from the letters employed by other nations, there was no more to be said on the subject. He is more minute in

regard to hieroglyphics, because, as they were peculiar to the Egyptians, he thought it necessary to state all he knew about them; and he does it accurately enough, though not with sufficient clearness to enable those who knew nothing of hieroglyphics to find out the mode of decyphering them, of which, probably, he himself was ignorant. He only speaks of their nature and quality, but not of their import. He correctly divides all hieroglyphics into *curiologic*, which employ the first elements of letters; and *symbolical*, which he subdivides into *imitative*, *tropical*, and *enigmatical*. The imitative represent the plain figure of the object; for instance, a circle to express the sun, half a circle the moon. The tropical figurative hieroglyphics have recourse to analogy for the representation of the object, and alter its appearance by way of anaglyphs; that is, by adding something to, or deducting something from, the true figure of the thing. "By these anaglyphs," he says, "the Egyptians celebrated the praises of their kings on their religious inscriptions." This, I own, is not very clear; but, according to the opinion of M. de Sacy, who has written a long dissertation on this passage of Clement, it seems that by anaglyphs, he meant a particular species of abstract and fanciful figures, which were destined to some particular purposes, of which more hereafter.

Of the symbolical enigmatical hieroglyphics, Clement gives no definition, but exhibits examples.

“The Egyptians,” says he, “draw the figure of a serpent to signify the oblique course of the stars, and the figure of a beetle to express the sun.”

Such is the account which, more than sixteen centuries ago, Clement of Alexandria gave of the nature of hieroglyphics. Something, indeed, of the same sort, but not quite so clear, has also been recorded by Porphyry in the “Life of Pythagoras;” in which he says, that the Egyptians had three different kinds of letters, *epistolographical*, *hieroglyphical*, and *symbolical*; and as he makes no mention of the hieratic letters recorded by Clement, the acute Warburton thought that the Egyptians had, in fact, four different sorts of characters; but this is evidently a mistake; because, in his *epistolographic*, Porphyry comprehends both the *hieratic* and the *demotic* characters, and mentions the *symbolical* as a mere division, or species, of hieroglyphics.

However, long before all these writers, Manetho had stated, that the first Hermes had engraved on pillars in the sacred or poetical language, and in hieroglyphical letters, the predictions he had made from the inspection of the heavens. These were afterwards, by the second Hermes, translated into the common dialect, and written in books in hieratic letters. According to Plato, these letters had been invented by Thot, or Thoth, during the reign of the Pharaoh Thamus; from which testimony it is evident, that, at the time of Plato, the Egyptians not only had the use of the alphabet,

but it was also believed that they had been the inventors of it. This assertion is so much the more to be attended to, because, the intercourse between Egypt and Greece being very great, Plato would never have dared to write an untruth which might be contradicted by any one of his countrymen. On the contrary, we find many authorities which confirm this assertion of Plato; for he, having said that it was necessary for his countrymen to read mathematics, gives as a reason, that in Egypt the children were in the habit of learning them as soon as they had learned their letters; and both Herodotus and Diodorus inform us, that these letters were the demotic alphabet, not very dissimilar from the hieratic, and of which it was equally believed Hermes was the inventor; and something of the same import is said by Clement of Alexandria.

We are, in fact, informed by Apuleius, that when he was initiated in the mysteries of Isis, the Hierophantes shewed him *books* written in unknown characters; and M. Zoëga, with his usual acuteness, proves, that in this passage Apuleius speaks of two different sorts of characters, the hieroglyphics and the alphabetical; and, from another passage of Clement, he proves that the Egyptian words could not conveniently be written in Greek characters.

I beg you will pay particular attention to this passage of Clement; for, as I stated in a former Lecture, this difficulty which the Greek writers

experienced in writing in their alphabet the Egyptian words, was one of the principal causes why the Greeks have so unwarrantably altered the names of the Egyptian kings, animals, and places, as to render it extremely difficult to recognise them.

The hieroglyphics, says Zoëga, are letters ; and, like letters, they are arranged in lines, and express sentiments, actions, and ideas. For by their shape they are pictures, by their disposition letters. “ *Signa hieroglyphicorum ad literarum instar singulatim ordinata in series sive versus, animi sensus factorum idearumque seriem expriment.* Id enim hieroglyphicis proprium est, ut quoad figuram picturæ sint, quoad ordinem litteræ.” This is a very striking passage ; and, as far as I know the only one uttered by a modern writer, in which it is so pointedly, and so positively asserted, that hieroglyphics are letters. He allows, indeed, another species of hieroglyphics, which we should call symbolical, but which he calls anaglyphs ; these, he says, have been called hieroglyphics on account of their shortness, and principally on account of the custom of using them in the temples, for which reason they obtained the name of sacred, or hieroglyphics. They, however, are not what we should call alphabetical letters, because they express ideas. Such, for instance, is the celebrated inscription on the propylæum of the Egyptian temples at Saïs and Thebes, exhibiting the figures of an old man, an infant, a hawk, a fish, and a crocodile ; in which the infant is the emblem of nativity, the old man

of death, the hawk of the deity, the fish for hatred, and the crocodile for impudence. So that, according to Clement, the whole means, "O you who are born, and you who die, remember, that the gods hate impudence."

All this is sufficiently plain, and perfectly coincides with the modern discoveries, by which we are enabled to read inscriptions engraved on monuments much anterior to the time of Moses, and nearly ascending to the age of Abraham. The difficulty consists in finding out which was the first mode of writing employed by mankind; that is, whether hieroglyphics preceded or succeeded the invention of the alphabet. To ascertain this point, we should consider that every thing is emblematic, every thing is figurative, every thing is more or less hieroglyphical, amongst the ancients. They began in Chaldea, by placing, or rather by giving to some constellations the name of the ram, and of the bull, either to signify the productions of these animals during the spring, or, as we shall see in a future Lecture, to pay a peculiar homage to the Deity, as soon as they began to depart from the pure religion of Noah. Fire was the symbol of the Deity amongst the Persians; the rising of Sirius, or the dog-star, informed the Egyptians of the inundation of the Nile; the serpent holding its tail in its mouth, became the image of eternity. The whole of nature was disguised, and emblematically represented, by the primitive inhabitants of our globe.

Travellers from the most remote antiquity have found in India frightful statues, furnished with ten arms, symbolically representing the power of virtue, or the power of the deity. These statues, by our missionaries, have been taken for representations of the devil. In this supposition, whatever ignorance they may have betrayed about the origin of idolatry, and of the progress and civilization of the natives, our missionaries have shewn a consistency highly calculated to prove the little advance they themselves had made in the history of mankind. Being persuaded that the true knowledge of the Deity was confined to Europe, they never thought it possible that the Hindoo nation, who could not speak French, English, or Portuguese, did not worship the devil.

If we place all the symbols and emblems which we have received from antiquity, under the inspection of a man of sense, or even of a scholar, who had never heard of them, he will not be able to understand, and much less will he be able to explain, any of them. It is a figurative and emblematical language, which requires a particular study before it can be understood.

It is for this reason that the ancient philosophers, and Pythagoras principally, who had travelled much in India and Egypt, employed this mode to convey instruction to their pupils. Most, if not all, the precepts of this last mentioned philosopher, are couched in such figurative expressions as to become riddles, or hieroglyphics.

“ Do not stir the fire with the sword,” said he ; to signify, do not irritate a man who is already in a passion.

“ Do not eat beans,” to signify, avoid public assemblies, in which we know the vote was given by beans.

“ During the storm, go and worship the echo ;” to signify, during civil wars retire to the country.

Such is a specimen of the figurative mode of speaking of Pythagoras, the sense of which is not now difficult to understand. But he is not the only instructor of mankind who has employed this mode. Most of the ancients have been equally emblematical, and have made use of the same emblematical figures. One of the most beautiful of these figures that ever was uttered, is that of Timeus of Locri, who described the Deity to be a circle, the centre of which was every where, and the circumference no where. Plato adopted this emblem ; and, amongst the moderns, Pascal has inserted it amongst the materials which he meant to employ in a future work, and to which the French have given the title of “*Pensées de Pascal*.”

The sacred pages exhibit innumerable examples of this mode of speaking, which the Hebrews had adopted from the Egyptians. A striking and most beautiful specimen is found in the last chapter of Ecclesiastes. “ When the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves, and the grinders shall cease because they are few, and those that look out of the windows

be darkened ; and the doors shall be shut in the streets ; when the sound of the grinding is low when the almond-tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, or ever the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken, or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, then the spirit shall return unto God, who gave it."

All this passage, which, however, I have much abridged, but which is a figurative description of old age, signifies, when old men lose their teeth, and their sight grows dim, when their hair becomes grey as the leaves of the almond-tree, when their feet swell like those of the grasshopper, and their hair falls like the leaves, &c. &c. we must prepare ourselves for the great and last journey.

The more we advance towards the east, the more we find this custom of using emblems and figures ; and the more these emblems and these figures differ from those which our customs and our notions allow us to employ. It is principally among the Indians, the Egyptians, and the Syrians, that the most extraordinary emblems were consecrated by religion.

These, as we shall see hereafter, were but the symbols of the several attributes of the Deity, all originating from the same source, all conveying the same notions and the same ideas. From these considerations, and from more cogent and conclusive reasons, which shall be developed in the course of this, as well as of my next Lecture, I am inclined to believe, that the first mode

invented by mankind to communicate their knowledge to posterity, or to absent persons, was the plain and simple representation of the things themselves, by pictures.

There is still a curious specimen of this writing by painting, imported to Europe by a Mexican, who translated it into Spanish. I recollect having seen it in the library of the Escorial, many years ago, where I also saw another specimen of writing by *quipos*. This Spanish version has been turned into English by Purchas. The title of the book is, "History of the Empire of Mexico, with Notes and Explanations," and it is to be found in "Purchas's Pilgrimes," Part the third.

I also remember to have read somewhere in the works of Fréret, or in the *Mercure de France*, that the original MS. is, or at least was, in the library of the King of France; but I do not remember how it got there, nor whether it is the original MS. in the Mexican language, or of the English translation.

Although these specimens, properly speaking, belong to a more advanced and more polished period of picture writing, when mankind had already made some progress in this as well as other departments of social intercourse, yet, as far as they go, they will give you no mean idea of the subject under consideration.

The translation I have alluded to is divided into three parts.

The first is a history of the Mexican empire, containing the biography and conquests of not less than eleven kings. The second is a regular roll of the several taxes which each conquered province or town paid to the royal treasury: and the third a digest of their civil law, the largest branch of which was of their common law, or *jure patrio*.

In each of these pictures, every king is represented with different characteristics; the length of his reign is marked by squares round the margin, which, when the reign happens to be extremely long, fill the four sides of the picture. In each square there is a small circle to signify the year, a mark which they repeat according to its number till they reach thirteen, after which they begin over again to count one; and under these small circles there is a kind of hieroglyphic figure, which is repeated in every fourth square. Thus, in Table 8. fig. 1. we have the representation of the length of the reign, and the warlike deeds performed by a king, whose reign lasted seventeen years, because the squares round the picture amount to that number. In each square we see a small circle, from one to thirteen, when the single circle again makes its appearance. In the first square there is a kind of lozenge, in the second a sort of building, in the third the head of an animal, in the fourth a bush of canes, which figures or characters are constantly repeated in the same order, over and over again in every one of the pictures. They no doubt had their meaning, of which I am en-

tirely ignorant; they were most likely connected either with their religious rites, or with their astronomical knowledge.

In all the pictures that exhibit the reign of each king, there is a figure which shews the nature of his government, and, therefore, vary according to the circumstances and the events that took place during his reign. In this picture it is a shield, or a target, (*c*) crossed by four lances, which means that this king subdued, by force of arms, four towns or people; they are expressed by four rough drawings of a house, to which a symbol, or hieroglyphic figure, denoting the name of each, has been attached. In the first, (*d*) we have a tree; in the second, (*g*) another tree of a different sort; in the third, (*h*) a kind of basket; in the fourth, (*i*) a sort of box, with two baskets. These exhibitions I am unable to explain, but they no doubt were perfectly intelligible to the people; and perhaps might have had a reference to the natural productions of the subdued provinces.

To mark the beginning of the reign, and the different epochs in which a king performed any of the actions mentioned in the picture, or even his death, they painted the figure of the king, with his characteristic emblem, which denotes his name, opposite to the year in which the event had taken place. Thus, in our picture, the king's name is said to be *Acamapichtli*, and his figure is repeated twice; opposite the first square, which marks the beginning of his reign, and opposite the eighth

square, which shews, that in the eighth year of his reign he put to death the chiefs of the four towns he had conquered. This circumstance is expressed by the four heads placed before him, distinguished by the same hieroglyphical characters which mark the towns or provinces over which they reigned. Across the figure of the king there is a kind of sash, with a knot on his shoulder, which, by its length and breadth, means the number of wives and children he had. In the present instance it seems not to be deficient in either of these dimensions. I am told that there is another mark to express the quality and number of children, whether male or female; but, to confess my ignorance, I could never discover it; although I have observed all the pictures of the several reigns recorded by this curious piece of history, with every possible attention.

To the picture of each reign, a second picture was invariably attached, which indicated the other actions of the sovereign as a politician, and the other events that had distinguished his government. The whole account given by Purchas is curious, and highly amusing.

In recording the tribute, or taxes, which each town had to pay, as it was paid in kind, it seems that the Mexicans had adopted the plan of drawing the figure of the object. Thus, to represent a basket of cacao-meal, or of any other sort of corn, they drew the figure of a basket containing the ears of corn, or the meal extracted from the fruit of that

tree, or of that plant. To represent suits of military clothing, armour, or shields, they exhibited their respective figures; the different sorts of mantles, whether of feathers or of other materials, were signified by their respective figures, differently coloured. The number of each article was expressed either by circles, each of which signified ten, or by a kind of pine-apple, which meant five, painted at the top of the basket, or by the side of each individual article; and if their quantity was so great as to amount to a burthen, or a load, this was expressed by another mark, which had the same signification. The like must be said of their paper, their cups, pots of honey, cochineal, wood, planks, beams, timber, loaves of salt, hatchets, lumps of copal, refined and unrefined, shells, wool, stones, canes to make darts, eagles, skins of animals; in short, of every thing which each town had to pay, for the maintenance of the state.

It would be impossible for me to give you a minute account of their civil and religious institutions, which form the third, and by far the largest department, in this most extraordinary picture. Every trade, every office, every employment, is differently delineated. The rites attending the several ceremonies of burial, marriage, and baptism, (for they certainly had some sort of baptism,) are minutely set down. But, above all, it seems that the education of children, from their infancy to manhood, had attracted the greatest attention of their legislature. The quantity of food, the quality of

labour, the different pursuits attached to each distinct age, the various punishments decreed for the different faults, are stated with a precision and clearness which is quite astonishing. The age of the child can always be made out by the number of circles placed above its head. The figure of the mother, and indeed of any woman, by her kneeling posture, and sitting on her legs; while the figure of the father, the priest, the teacher, and indeed of all men, besides the different attributes, which designate the employment, is always represented either standing, or sitting on a low stool, with his knees to his breast.

As a specimen, I offer you a table of the ceremonies attending their marriage. [Table 8. fig. 2.] This was generally brought about by an old woman, whom they called *Amantesa*, (*t*) that is, a marriage broker, who was to carry the bride (*w*) on her back to the house of the bridegroom, at the beginning of the night, accompanied by four women, (*x* and *z*) bearing torches of pine-tree. When arrived at the house, the bride (*l*) and the bridegroom (*m*) were seated near to the fire, on a mat, the woman, as usual, sitting on her legs, the man on a stool. There they were tied together by the corner of their garments, after which they offered to their gods a perfume of copal; two old women, (*n* and *v*) and two old men, (*i* and *r*) being present as witnesses. This ceremony over, they were allowed to dine, upon two different sorts of meat, (*p* and *q*) and some pulse (*s*). Thus, not only

the dishes which were to be used are marked, but also the cup (*a*) out of which they were to drink. The witnesses were allowed to dine after the newly married couple, which circumstance is expressed by their being seated at the four corners of the mat, which served for a dining-table. The sign which is added to the mouth of these four witnesses, signifies, that before they retired they had the right to give, and in fact they gave, to the married folks, good counsel, how to behave themselves, that they might live in peace and happiness. The position of one of the women, (*n*) holding up her right hand, means that the portly matron is already making use of the privilege allowed, to give a little exercise to her tongue; while the folded arms of the remaining witnesses prove that they are waiting for their turn.

In the punishments of their children, the Mexicans seem to have been ingeniously cruel. Most of the chastisements I find marked down consisting in unmerciful castigations; in driving into the hands, arms, legs, and into the body of the culprit, thorns and prickles. Sometimes they singed his head with fire, at other times they tied him down to a board, and threw him into a bog; and occasionally they held the head and nose of the unfortunate child upon the smoke of a particular wood, which they called *axi*.

The crimes, for which they inflicted punishments so severe and so cruel, are the same with those which are condemned by the laws of the most

civilized nations of Europe, and cannot but inspire us with a very favourable, nay, exalted opinion, of the moral notions of the Mexicans. They seem even to have gone beyond us, for the sake of preserving proper habits of industry and morality among the people; for they not only punished drunkenness with death, but also idleness; for if drunkenness, said they, renders a man capable of committing a crime, idleness exposes him to drinking, and to bad company. This law, however, lost its power with men and women as soon as they reached the age of seventy; they were then allowed to pass their lives in idleness, and to get drunk, both in public and private. The reason assigned for this extraordinary regulation is, that as they could no longer work, and had but a short time to live, the law indulged them with the enjoyment of what seems to have been considered, by the Mexicans, as one of the greatest pleasures of life.

Such is the short account that I can give you of this most singular mode of expressing ideas by pictures, which is, I think, an exemplification of the first mode of writing by hieroglyphics. It is, besides, one of the most interesting monuments by which we can arrive at the knowledge of the history of Mexico. For it is evident, that, from the wisdom of their regulations, from the quantity of taxes which, as is recorded in these pictures, were levied upon the different towns and nations, from the minuteness of the details, and from the

pictures themselves, which shew some knowledge of perspective and drawing, the Mexicans had made no inconsiderable progress in knowledge, in civilization, and in the cultivation of the arts. And yet these are the people whom the intolerance and bigotry of the rulers of Spain condemned to destruction, as if a superior sort of brutes, but by no means worthy to be considered as rational beings, or possessing souls. Oh how often, in reading the history of mankind, have I blushed at the excesses committed by man!

This mode of writing by signs, whether symbolical, figurative, or conventional, has been often adopted even by the modern inhabitants of our part of the globe. Among the many instances which I could quote, I shall select a curious almanack, which is considered to have been the performance of a monk of Brittany, so late as the year 1468. It was found in the year 1731, in a hollow square place of a wall, built over by brickwork, in the castle of Coëdic. It was engraved on both sides of a piece of wood, five inches long, and half an inch thick. The extraordinary appearance of the characters could not, as you may easily suppose, but excite the curiosity of the nation; and as the idea which even the learned at that time had of these past ages was not very correct, some considered this extraordinary piece of wood as a table calculated to tell people's fortunes, or draw horoscopes; others looked upon it as a talisman; but the most part regarded it as a spe-

cies of diabolical and nefarious schedule, drawn up for the purpose of making incantations, enchantments, and other such magical operations, from which they concluded that it could not soon enough be thrown into the fire. Fortunately, however, the proprietor of the castle thought otherwise; he sent it to the Academy of Inscriptions, and M. Lancelot, having found out that it was a perpetual almanack, published in the following year a full description of it.

This almanack was engraved over on both sides, and each side contained six divisions, exhibiting thus the twelve months of the year. The first six divisions were engraved on the upper side, the remaining on the lower; but at the top of both there were engraved two heads, one of a man, another of a woman, most probably meant to represent the king and queen then reigning. Each division, or month, contains several marks, or dots, corresponding to the number of its days; and opposite many of these dots there is an emblematical sign, shewing the most remarkable feast-days in the year, or at least those for which the contriver of this almanack felt a particular veneration. All these feast-days are of a fixed nature, that is, such as return every year, on the same day, without alteration; and thus it differs from the almanacks of the Greek Church, both in Asia and Russia, a specimen of which has been published at Antwerp in the "Acts of the Saints," under the article of "the month of May;" but it resembles the ancient alma-

nacks published in Norway, which Olaüs Rudbeck, in his "Atlantique," calls *Primstafs*, and in which the principal feast-days were designated by marks and points differing very little from one another.

The most remarkable feature, however, which is to be found in this almanack is, that the divisions, or months, do not run from left to right, but go backward, from right to left. Thus, in the first division, January holds the place where we now should place June; and in the second, July, where we should put December.

Although the figures which mark the feast-days may be the offspring of the author's own fancy, yet they generally have some real or allegorical relation to the object of this feast, or to the character or employment of the person. A cross, for instance, is meant to represent all the mysteries of our Saviour, although varied by further additional circumstances.

We find it, in fact, on the 1st of January, the day of the Circumcision; on the 6th, the day of the Epiphany; on the 3d of May for the invention of the Cross; on the 6th of August for the Transfiguration; on the 14th of September for the exaltation of the Cross; on the 25th of December for the Nativity. The same sign, with different additions, we find as a mark for All Saints' day, on the 1st of November, and for many of the Apostles; such as the 25th of January for the Conversion of St. Paul; on the 24th of February for St. Matthias, and the like.

All the festivals of the Virgin Mary are distinguished by a fleur-de-lys; as on Purification day, the 2d of February; on the Annunciation, the 25th of March; on the 8th of September, the day of the Nativity; on the 8th of December, the day of the Conception. It is equally employed for the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, on the 22d of July, most probably on account of her name of Mary; and on the 26th of the same month, to mark the feast of St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin.

The festivals of those Saints who bore the name of John, are represented by a kind of cup, which is the emblem generally put into the hands of St. John the Evangelist. In this way we find expressed the festival of St. John Chrysostom, on the 27th of January; of St. John the Hermit, on the 27th of March; of St. John Port Latin, on the 6th of May; of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist, on the 27th of June; and on the 27th of December for St. John the Evangelist.

A key represents all the festivals of St. Peter; for instance, on the 29th of June, and on the 1st of August; a gridiron that of St. Laurence, on the 10th of August; a bundle of arrows that of St. Sebastian, on the 20th of January; and a species of scraper, very much resembling the instrument used by tanners to peel skins, to exhibit the festival of St. Bartholomew, on the 24th of August.

To distinguish the female Saints, who died virgins and martyrs, the author has employed a species of axe, surmounted by three sharp points. We

meet with this mark on the 21st of January, the day of St. Agnes; on the 5th of February, the day of St. Agatha; on the 9th of the same month, for St. Apollina; on the 16th of June, for St. Judith; on the 2d of November, for St. Cecilia; and the like.

The popes, the bishops, the abbots, and, indeed, all clergymen, are designed by a cross. Those intended for popes and bishops are more complicated, and more bent; the others more simple and more straight. Of the more simple sort is that on the 12th of March, the festival of St. Paul, who was the first bishop of Leon; on the 31st of December, the festival of St. Silvester; and the like.

Of the second, or more complicated sort, is the mark opposite the 21st of June, the festival of St. Meen, the abbot of St. Malo; opposite the 22d of August, for St. Philbert, abbot of Tumiège. Sometimes this same cross is turned the contrary way, as on the 13th of January, the feast of St. Hilary, bishop of Poitier; on the 4th of November, for St. Melaine, bishop of Rennes. To some prelates, however, our author has granted different marks; such are, for instance, those to express the two festivals of St. Martin, on the 4th of July, and the 11th of November, which is a kind of episcopal crosier; whilst those of St. Nicholas, of the 9th of May, and the 6th of December, look very much like the upper part of the capital letter B.

Some of the signs, however, are very curious.

Those expressed to signify the festivals of St. Anthony, on the 17th of January, and on the 13th of June, are a kind of half-circle, furnished inside with sharp points; while those employed for the two apparitions of St. Michael, on the 29th of September, and 16th of October, consist of three straight lines, two of which, having a ring at each end, hang right and left from the one which lies in the middle. Whether such a sign was meant to signify the wings with which this archangel is generally represented, or to make an allusion *to the employment of weighing the souls of men*, which some painters have attributed to him, it is impossible for me to decide. And it is equally impossible to explain the sort of bird which we find on the 18th of October, to express the day of St. Luke the Evangelist; unless we should have recourse to the French proverb of “*L’oiseau de S. Luc*,” the origin and signification of which I do not feel myself authorized to state in this place.

Of the same sort is the mark employed to signify All Souls’ day, on the 2nd of November, and the day of the Innocents, on the 28th of December.

Such is this curious almanack, which, at the time it was found, produced so much alarm, and created so much curiosity, as to engage the attention of one of the first learned societies of Europe.

To return now to our subject. From these facts, and from others, which I shall by and by produce of the Chinese, I have a right to conclude

that, in the primitive state of society, mankind had no other method to express their ideas in writing than the simple representation of the objects. We must, therefore, endeavour, 'if possible, to ascertain what alterations were made in this picture-writing before the different figures became what we now, strictly speaking, term hieroglyphics.

Unfortunately, the total deficiency of monuments of the first attempts of mankind, puts it out of our power to speak with certainty of the expression and purpose of this mode of writing. We are totally unacquainted with, and most likely we shall continue for ever ignorant of, the primitive efforts of the Egyptians in hieroglyphical writing. The monuments which still exist on this ancient land, although much anterior to any thing of the sort which has as yet appeared in Europe, far from exhibiting the first originals, are the result of the considerable improvement which they had made in painting, sculpture, and architecture. The basso relievos by which they are ornamented are generally attached to legends, perfectly similar in their form and combination to those which, in later ages, were dedicated to the Grecian kings and Roman emperors: and, for the space of more than three thousand years before Christ, we cannot discover the least difference in the manner and arrangement of hieroglyphics.

In attempting, therefore, to explain the nature and use of hieroglyphics during these primi-

tive ages, we have no other guide than probability, no other resource than analogy; and it is by their assistance and the peculiar situation in which the Egyptians found themselves when they first went to settle in that country, that we must endeavour to ascertain the nature and use of their hieroglyphical writing.

We have seen that the representation of the objects themselves was, as it must have been, the first method adopted by mankind to communicate their thoughts in writing. This mode must have preceded by many centuries the Dispersion; for it is found to have existed, more or less, among the most rude, as well as the most polished nations of the globe; nations who, from their natural position, and the immense distance which separated them from the other civilized parts of the world, could not have held any intercourse with the rest of mankind.

The difficulty and labour attached to this mode of writing soon persuaded the people to be satisfied with the outlines only of the figure which expressed the object; and this seems, in fact, to have been the method used by most, if not all the nations of the earth. It was found in Mexico and in Peru, at the discovery of America, and, in some respects, still exists in China, as we shall see in a future Lecture.

But as this method of expressing the objects even by outlines was still very troublesome, the Egyptians adopted another and more simple mode of writing, and that was, to substitute a kind of

mark, or simple character, for the outlines of the object. These marks, or these characters, still retained some resemblance to the figure made by the outlines; but they were less difficult, needed less skill, and much less trouble, and they were, therefore, soon generally used. They were, however, still intricate, and required a certain degree both of patience and skill. To simplify, therefore, the method of writing, the priests turned these outlines into marks which, although they retained some resemblance to the outlines for which they had been substituted, were, however, more simple and expeditious.

In this manner the Egyptian hieroglyphics underwent the same revolution to which they had been exposed in China. In that country, the primary institution of writing by the representation of figures, was soon turned into arbitrary marks, which, although in the beginning they might still preserve a little resemblance to the natural objects, yet in course of time deviated so much from their originals, as to render it impossible to trace them to their archetype.

The Egyptian priests, however, for reasons which will be shewn in the course of these Lectures, although they adopted these marks as the general method of writing, yet for their own purposes invented other characters, and other marks, which were more arbitrary than the former. They were absolutely symbolical, and of a nature which was very difficult to be understood, without a previous

knowledge or study ; and it seems that they did so in three ways.

The *first* was to employ the most remarkable circumstance attending any subject, to express the subject itself. Thus, if they wished to represent two armies ready to come to battle, they painted two hands, the one of which held a bow, the other a shield, as we find amongst the hieroglyphics of Horapollo.

The *second* was more ingenious, and it consisted in substituting for the thing which they wished to exhibit, the real or metaphorical instrument by which the thing itself could be done ; thus, an eye and a sceptre represented a king ; a sword a tyrant ; a vessel with a pilot the ruling power of the universe ; the emblem of nature, for the productive power of the earth.

The *third* mode went still further ; it employed one thing for another, in which there was no other resemblance than that which convention had established ; thus, a serpent, with its tail in its mouth, forming a circle, became the symbol of the universe, and the spots on its skin the emblems of the stars.

In process of time, the use of this third mode was extended to express the qualities of substances by sensible images ; for instance, a hare meant an openness of character ; a buck, impudicity ; a fly, impudence ; an ant, science ; a client flying for relief to his patron, and receiving none, was represented by a sparrow and an owl ; a king, inexorable and

estranged from his people, by an eagle; a man who exposes his children through poverty, by a hawk; a wife who hates her husband, or her children, by a viper; one initiated in the mysteries, or under an obligation of secrecy, by a grasshopper, which was thought to have no mouth. And thus, by degrees, they imagined symbols, or symbolical images, to express those things which, being merely qualities or powers, have no visible form.

It is from this third mode of writing, and from the custom of expressing the qualities of things by the picture of visible objects, that scholars have experienced the greatest, if not the whole difficulty of understanding hieroglyphics; and this difficulty is not entirely removed by the recent discoveries; for, indeed, we are not yet sufficiently acquainted with the natural history of ancient Egypt, or with the prejudices and notions of the people, to be able to ascertain how they could find any similarity between two objects, in which we find none. Thus, for instance, he who had borne his misfortunes with courage, and had at last surmounted them, was signified by the picture of an hyena, because the skin of that animal was supposed to make the wearer fearless and invulnerable.

But the department in which the priesthood exercised all their ingenuity, in regard to symbols, was their theology; for we find the most extraordinary figures employed emblematically, to represent their gods and goddesses. Originally, as we shall see in a future Lecture, these symbols were

such as to be consistent with the religion of Noah. But, in progress of time, they underwent a considerable alteration; and, as the people departed from the purity and simplicity of the primitive religion, they were strangely perverted. But, although the several attributes of the Supreme Being were afterwards considered as so many gods and goddesses, and the symbols, or hieroglyphics, which originally had been invented and employed, as a representation of these attributes, became themselves the symbols and expressions of new gods and new goddesses; yet the names, by which these symbols or hieroglyphics had been signified, were not abolished. The circle still continued to be the symbol of the sun; the name of Rhe, by which he had been distinguished, as the first luminary, was still preserved in use, though he had been made a god. The goddess Neith and the god Phtha were still represented by the symbols which originally had been employed to denote the creative or rather the generative power of the Supreme Being. The import and meaning of the primitive hieroglyphics lost nothing of their original signification. This signification might be distorted by the perversion introduced by idolatry; but a name was still employed to denote and express their meaning, whatever might be the idea which had been and was still attached to each of them. The notions of the people might have been altered, the signification of the several symbols might have been changed, but they still con-

tinued to express a sound, and to have a name, and in most cases the same name, although the ideas which they excited might no longer be the same; for, I imagine, and it is impossible to think otherwise, that before the invention of the alphabet, hieroglyphics were, and indeed must have been, ideographic.

That such must have been the fact is evident from the innumerable inscriptions engraved on the Egyptian monuments, which exhibit these different sorts of hieroglyphics, and sometimes so mixed together, as to perplex a reader not accustomed to them. The exact and elaborate figures of the object were invariably engraved on public monuments, and public buildings, whether symbolical or figurative; the simple outlines were used in exhibitions of a less remarkable character, and the arbitrary marks in manuscripts only. And although the grand elaborated style may be occasionally met with in buildings of inferior note, and even in manuscripts; yet the arbitrary marks are never to be seen, as far as I have been able to ascertain, but in manuscript writing, or on works comparatively insignificant; and this fact evidently shews, what I have endeavoured to establish, that the difficulty and labour attending picture writing was the cause, or at least one of the causes, why the use of outlines and symbols was adopted.

But if to these considerations, already powerful, we add others equally strong, arising from the peculiar state in which the primitive Egyptians

found themselves, when they first went to inhabit their country, we shall be able to understand the meaning of many other symbols, and the cause of their adoption. Most of these have a reference to the Nile, and to the annual inundation, which was in fact the principal reason of the prosperity of Egypt; others are connected with, or depending upon the habits, customs, and religion of the natives; not a few exhibit the peculiar speculations and religious practices of the Egyptians; although in their origin they undoubtedly belonged to the theology of mankind before the dispersion, because, with few alterations, they were substantially and fundamentally the same with the ceremonies and ritual of all the nations of the world.

All these alterations, however, must have preceded the invention of the alphabet, although some of them must have taken place after the Dispersion. For, if the invention of the alphabet had preceded the Dispersion, we should have found the use of it generally established amongst mankind, and hieroglyphics and picture writing entirely laid aside. But this is not the case. The Mexicans and the Peruvians, up to the fifteenth century, and, to this day, the Chinese have no knowledge of the alphabet. They all, like the Egyptians, made use of hieroglyphics, more or less abridged, more or less symbolical; or, if you please, more or less arbitrary; but they had no knowledge of the alphabet. The invention of letters, therefore, must have happened after the Dispersion, at a time

when picture or hieroglyphical writing was generally used; it was thus imported into the respective countries, by the primitive inhabitants, as they separated themselves from the common society, carrying in their migrations those partly true and partly false notions of the Deity, and of the great event which had submerged the world; notions which, in fact, are to be found in the theology and ritual of all the nations in the universe, although more or less disfigured and altered; as we shall see in a future Lecture.

Such, it appears to me, is the probable account of the origin, nature, and use of hieroglyphics previous to the invention of the alphabet. How that discovery happened, and what alterations took place, after it became generally known, in the mode of writing and in the meaning of hieroglyphics, we will shew in our next Lecture.

LECTURE VIII.

Continuation of the same subject—Simplicity of the original figures and language of mankind—Hebrew alphabet—Chinese characters—Words mostly monosyllables—Examples—Formation of dissyllabic and trisyllabic words—Examples—Similarity found in most of the Oriental alphabets—Mode by which figures became arbitrary marks—Their shapes—Specimens of the Chinese and Egyptian—Names attached to each, generally imitative—How expressed in writing—Examples—Difference of hieroglyphics—Joining of sounds—Analysis of them—Discovery of the alphabet—Generally attributed to the Egyptians—Remarkable passage of Plato—Consequences arising from it—General remarks.

IN my last Lecture I endeavoured to prove that the first method of writing employed by mankind, was the simple or full representation of the object. This, in fact, we found to have been the mode employed by the Mexicans; and although the specimens which I exhibited at the time belong to another sort of picture-writing, more settled and more complicated, and consequently in some measure inapplicable to our present inquiry; yet they were, in other respects, sufficiently conclusive to exemplify the mode of writing I was then describing.

It being, then, fully established that this picture drawing was the first method of writing adopted by mankind, we must now continue our inquiry, and ascertain, if possible, by what means, and by what steps men arrived at the greatest of all inventions, that is, the invention of the alphabet.

The scarcity, or rather the deficiency of monuments and authorities which might lead, or at least help us in this inquiry, is so great, that we have no other resource left than analogy; but I hope, notwithstanding these great difficulties, to be able, from the little which learned men have written on this subject, and from what has taken place amongst the Chinese and the Jews, to be able to attain our object, as far as the slender acquaintance I have with the languages of these two nations has allowed me to do.

Two things, however, I think it necessary to mention at the very first outset of our inquiry, to which I beg you will pay a particular attention, and they are, first, that the greatest part of the characters, or figurative hieroglyphics, were very simple, and absolutely confined to the exhibition of the corporeal objects they wished to represent. Thus, taking the Chinese, for instance, we find that, originally, when they wished to express the sun, the moon, a mountain, or a hand, they traced the figure of a circle with a dot in the middle, [Table 9. fig. 1.] to represent the sun; two half-circles upon one another, with a dot, [fig. 2.] to express the moon; a species of five-prong fork [fig. 3.] for

the hand ; and a short pyramid, with two or three points, or peaks, [fig. 4.] for the mountain ; and so on.

Now taking this for granted, and assuming that this was the general method adopted by mankind, which, in fact, we know was the mode pursued by the Chinese, the Egyptians, and the Mexicans, it follows that each of these three nations, in looking at any one of these figures, would give them the name by which they were called in their respective language. Thus, for instance, an Egyptian in looking at the figure of the sun would call out *phre*, while a Chinese would have said *ge*, because such are the names by which each of them call the sun. In the same way, if the figure of a hand were exhibited to a Jew, to an Egyptian, or to a Chinese, the Jew would call it *jod*, the Egyptian *tot*, the Chinese *cheou*, or *you*, because so is the hand called in the Hebrew, the Coptic, and the Chinese languages. To this I hope no possible objection can be made.

The second circumstance to which I beg to call your attention, is the simplicity of the language spoken by the primitive inhabitants of the world, and the small number of sounds or words by which it was composed ; for as a language is intended to express all the ideas and wants belonging to the people by which it is spoken, it is evident that the fewer these ideas are, and the fewer these wants, the fewer must be the words. Now the position of mankind immediately after the flood was

such as to preclude the possibility of supposing that they had many ideas and many wants ; therefore, we may reasonably conclude, that their language consisted of those words only, which were intended to express the things most necessary to life, and consequently contained a small number of words. We find, in fact, that the letters of the most ancient alphabets known, signified the most common and the most simple objects. This is particularly the case in the Ethiopian and Hebrew alphabets, under which we may comprehend also the Arabic, the Syriac, the Chaldean, the Phœnician, and the Samaritan. In these alphabets the letter A, which they call aleph, signified *unity*, as well as *pre-eminence* ; the B, which they termed beth, signified a *house* ; the gimel, that is, the G, the *camel* ; daleth, our D, the *gate*, or the *door* ; jod, which the Ethiopians called jaman, that is, our J, the *hand* ; mim, which the Ethiopians termed mai, that is, our M, with a very little alteration, signified *water* ; and I might continue this catalogue through the remaining letters, and shew you, that to each of them they had attached a meaning, for each of them expressed a common and simple object.

This being admitted, I think it will not be difficult to ascertain how, from the simple picture of the objects, mankind have arrived at the invention of the alphabet. But as the deficiency of monuments respecting the western nations puts it out of my power to follow up our inquiry in regard to

the Egyptians, Ethiopians, and Phœnicians, I must refer you to the Chinese, and, by comparing their characters with those employed by the Jews, endeavour, if possible, to get at the first adoption of the alphabet.

I have already said that the first mode of writing adopted by man was to express, by pictures, the nature of the thing they wished to represent. Thus, for instance, the figure of a hand has been employed to exhibit the human limb, which we call hand, and which was called *ye*, *ya*, or *you*; and from the great quantity of monosyllables which are found in the Oriental languages, mostly signifying the plainest and most simple objects, I am authorized to suppose that the primitive sounds, or words, invented by men to express these simple and common objects, were mostly, if not all, monosyllables. We find, in fact, this to be the case in the Chinese language, in the language of Egypt, and so on. I am also authorized to suppose, that to make a compound word, they added to the first monosyllable a second monosyllable, the signification of which was likewise determined by its figure; and these two monosyllables, so joined together, produced a compound word, or a word of two syllables, which was expressed in writing by putting together the two figures, each of which separately represented one of the two monosyllables that made the compound word.

This being established, I take, for instance, the Hebrew letter *daleth*, which, as I have stated,

signifies both a door and the letter D, which, in the Hebrew alphabet, is something like a door. [fig. 5.] Now suppose that the primitive Jews, when they wished to express an idea of which this word *daleth* formed a part, shortened its sound, and pronounced, not *daleth*, but *da* only, and that by adding to it the second monosyllable *ya*, which signifies both the letter J and the hand, they formed the word *yada*, made up by two monosyllables, one signifying a hand, and the other a door, and thus we shall express the meaning, *to extend*, *to spread*, for such must be the effect produced by the hand on a door; and now it turns out that this is precisely the meaning of the Hebrew word [fig. 6.] spelt only by a J and by a D, without the intervention of any vowel, according to the custom of all the Orientals.

Upon the same principle, if to the word *yada* we add the third monosyllable *ain*, which means the *eye*, we shall have the word *yadaa*, which will of course signify, *to open one's eyes*, *to extend one's sight*, and, metaphorically, *to know*, *to be aware*; and this, in fact, is the meaning of the Hebrew word *yadaa*, spelt by a J, a D, and an A, [fig. 7.] and to which, if we were to apply hieroglyphics, that is, if we were to express this word according to the meaning of each monosyllable by the picture of the things of which it is composed, we should draw the picture of a hand, of a door, and of an eye. [fig. 8.]

This is very satisfactory; but it is not all, for we find this precisely to be the case in the Chinese

language, as well as in the Hebrew; for the characters, or group, which in Chinese is called *kia*, is composed of three different primitive characters, the first of which represents the abridged picture of a hand, [fig. 9.] the second of a door, [fig. 10.] and the third [fig. 11.] of the eye, and all together produce the word *kia*, which, in the Chinese language, means, *to examine, to see*. In putting these three characters together, the Chinese follow the example of the Egyptians, and dispose the two first at the top, and the third under them, [fig. 12.] just as we find them in the grouping of hieroglyphics; but for the sake of clearness, we may now dispose them according to the Hebrew monosyllables, which we have analysed already, [fig. 13.]

Again, in the Chinese language we find the word *hia*, [fig. 14.] which is written with three figures; each of the first two (*a* and *b*) represents the abridged image of a door, and the third (*c*) exhibits the figure of the teeth, equally abridged. Now in Hebrew we have seen that the two doors are two *daleths*, that is, two of our D's, and the figure of the teeth is their *shin*, which answers to our *sh*, ש, [fig. 15.] so that what the Chinese call *hia*, the Jews call *shadad* [fig. 15. *a*]; but these two words, though different in point of sound, have precisely the same meaning in both these languages; for *hia* in the Chinese, and *shadad* in Hebrew, signify *to break, to make an opening*, a signification which suits the nature of the charac-

ters, that is, the figures of the objects which were used to express them.

I might extend these observations to a greater length, and produce more instances to prove, by numerous examples, that originally the figure of the object was employed by all the nations of the world to express this same object, and that to such figure each nation gave a sound which expressed the image; and though this sound might be, and in some instances was, very different from that which was uttered by other nations, yet they all had the same signification, that is, they all meant to express the same object.

But before I proceed I may, by way of digression, call your attention to a curious fact, which must be very striking to an attentive observer, and that is, the very great similarity which exists between the original alphabets of the Chinese, the Egyptians, and the Jews, and, indeed, of most, if not all, the nations of the globe. This curious circumstance must, in fact, be a necessary consequence of the primitive mode of writing adopted by the whole of mankind; for as they first began by exhibiting and copying the figure of the object, the alterations which, in progress of time, were introduced, could not possibly vary to such a degree, as to prevent the possibility of discovering the first original. I shall explain myself by examples.

In the instance I have just mentioned of the word *shadad*, I have observed that the Jews em-

ployed the letter *sh*, (*shin*), which is like our *sh*. Now if we turn to the Egyptians we cannot but observe, that a great similarity exists between the *sh*, (*shin*), [fig. 15.] of the Jews, and the same letter, as it was used by the Egyptians, both in their hieroglyphics and hieratic writing; for among the hieroglyphics we have fig. 16., which is very like the Hebrew; and in the hieratic we find an abbreviation of the same figure, *sh*, [fig. 17.] which, with the exception of the under line, is precisely the Hebrew letter. They all prove to have been derived from the same original pattern, although the Jews may have altered it in one way, and the Egyptians in another. Indeed it would not be difficult, by running over the hieratic and demotic characters used by the Egyptians, to shew the great resemblance which exists between them and the Hebrew letters; for, as I have just stated, they are all derived from the same original,—the picture of the object, which afterwards has been altered and abridged for the sake of convenience and expedition, in different ways by the several nations.

To render you sensible of the truth of this assertion, I beg to observe that the drawing of the figure must have been a troublesome and laborious operation, and sometimes even difficult. To remedy this evil, another character was adopted, which expressed only the outlines of the figure, a sort of an abridged representation of the object. Thus, for instance, originally, to represent a bird, they drew the figure of the bird [fig. 18.]; but as this

was a tedious operation, they began to be satisfied with the outlines only. [fig. 19.] But as this method occasionally required a degree of skill and trouble above the generality of the people, this abridged representation of the bird was still more abridged by the adoption of a mark [fig. 20.] which was partly figurative, partly conventional. It was figurative because it still retained some of the leading features of the bird, and it was conventional, because, without a previous agreement, no one could have imagined that it was intended to represent the figure of the bird. Thus, instead of the outlines in fig. 19, the simple lines in fig. 20 were introduced; and even these were shortened by the adoption of two simple lines, one of which might represent the length of the body, and the other the feet of the bird. [fig. 21.] And ultimately this very simple representation became the secret or mysterious character, exhibited by arbitrary marks, [fig. 22.] which no one could make out unless he had been told.

Whether this invention took place before or after the discovery of the alphabet, I have it not in my power to decide; I merely bring it forward now to follow up the notice of the alterations introduced into the original mode of representing a thing or an object, first graphically, by a full picture of it, secondly, by regular outlines; thirdly, by lines which still preserved something of the regular outlines, but very much shortened; fourthly by a still greater abridgement; and, lastly, by arbitrary marks.

I shall explain my meaning by what has happened in China, where we have a striking example of this alteration. In that country, the people have not only laid aside the use of the pictures of things, which, from the most remote antiquity, they had adopted, and retained the marks which they had substituted for these images ; but they have increased these marks to a prodigious number, making each mark to mean a particular idea, to which they had attached a distinct sound, or word. But what is really surprising, is, that this mode of writing, arbitrary as it is, is common to many neighbouring nations, who speak a different language. It is common to the people of Cochin China, of Tonquin, and Japan, each of whom speak a dialect of their own, very dissimilar from the Chinese ; but all these nations, although they cannot understand each other by speaking, yet do so perfectly by writing. Du Halde, from whom I borrow the account, says, that their books are common to all of them. These characters, therefore, are a species of arithmetical signs, which each nation expresses by a different word, although, amongst them all, they represent the very same number, and excite the very same idea.

The shapes and figures of these several characters, however disguised they may be now, still betray their original, from the primitive pictures and images.

This fact will appear more plain to you upon observing, in Table 9, some curious Chinese cha-

racters, which I copy from Martinus Martinius. Among these characters,

Fig. 23, which signifies a mountain, is now written as you see, in fig. 24.

Fig. 1, which formerly represented the sun, is now expressed as in fig. 25.

Fig. 26, which originally stood for a rude image of a dragon, is now expressed as you see in fig. 27.

Fig. 28, which was intended to represent in a rough manner an eye and a sceptre, to signify the ruling power, is now turned into the arbitrary character expressed by fig. 29.

And, finally, for fig. 30 and 31, which were exactly the images of a hen and a cock, they have now substituted the marks expressed by fig. 32 and 33.

And Martinius says, that he possessed a very ancient and scarce book, written in six different ways, or characters, on which account the Chinese set upon it a great value, in which the form of the ancient letters was precisely the same with those he had seen on the obelisks at Rome, that is, the perfect images of the things they wished to represent.

“Habeo pœnes me librum litteris Sinicis ad sex diversos modos conscriptum, opus antiquissimum et rarum, Sinis ob vetustatem raritatemque magno semper in prætio habitum. In eo libro antiquæ literæ formam ut cumque referunt earum, quas Romæ in obeliscis sæpe me videre memini.”

Indeed, in Table 9, you may also see the alterations which, by degrees, the Chinese have intro-

duced in their mode of writing. Originally, a mountain was represented, as Martinus Martinius mentions, by the exact figure of a mountain, [fig. 23.]; and a chain of mountains by the addition of several of these pictures, like an undulating line, [fig. 34.]. But, by degrees these signs degenerated, first into a kind of three-pronged fork, [fig. 35.] and ultimately into the arbitrary mark, [fig. 24.] which still shews something of its original. The figure which represents a door, [fig. 36.] was turned into the sign [fig. 37.] not very dissimilar from the first; and, lastly, into the arbitrary mark, [fig. 14, *a* or *b*.] the outlines of which still exhibit the top and one of the sides of a door. The character in fig. 38, which shews the outlines of a man sitting, was turned into an arbitrary mark, [fig. 39.] which still shews the length of his legs, and the bending of the body; and I have no doubt that a man well learned in the Chinese mode of writing, might easily find the originals of, and the intermediate alterations made in, each of the Chinese characters, of which, I confess, I have very little knowledge. Indeed, these few specimens which I exhibit, are now produced simply to shew you the regular steps by which mankind passed from the picture of the things to the adoption of arbitrary marks. In them, however, you cannot but be struck by the great similarity they have to the Egyptian hieroglyphics, for no other reason than because they came from the same original, that is, from real pictures, which were afterwards shortened into

simple outlines, and by further alterations became, at last, arbitrary marks.

These marks, however, still retained their original sound; and each of these characters, whether absolutely figurative, linear, or arbitrary, still conveyed the same ideas, and were still expressed by the same sound. In this way what was the figure of the object became an arbitrary mark, and this arbitrary mark became a letter, and thus the monosyllable which originally was employed to express the full figure of a thing, was equally employed to express, first, the outlines, then the abridged figure of the same thing, and ultimately, the arbitrary mark, or letter, which was substituted for them all.

To explain this theory still more fully to you, I beg leave to repeat what I have partly stated in a former Lecture; and that is, that the Egyptians, to express a word or a sound, employed the figure of an object, the name of which, either in the whole or in part, exhibited the sound which they meant to express. For instance, if they wished to give the idea of a son, they painted the figure of a young man, and to this figure they gave the name of *si*, or *se*. If they wished to express the idea, not of a son in general, but a particular son, that is, *the son*, they added to the figure of a young man the square, which they called *phe*, and made the word *phese*, or *phsi*. And though, in process of time, these two figures of a young man and the square were changed into arbitrary marks, yet they still continued to represent the same idea, and were expressed

by the same sounds ; that is, the arbitrary mark of the square was called *phe*, and the arbitrary mark of the young man *se*. By degrees, however, the original patterns of these arbitrary marks were forgotten, because in process of time men lose the recollection of the origin of many of their institutions ; but this forgetfulness of the original pattern of the arbitrary mark, to which they gave the name of *se*, to express the idea of son, did not in the least affect the sound of the monosyllable, nor the idea which they meant to convey by it ; for the arbitrary mark was still called *se*, and this sound or expression, *se*, still conveyed the idea of a son ; and the arbitrary mark, which was substituted for the square, still was called *phe*, and conveyed the idea of what we should call a definite article. Therefore, whenever an Egyptian found the arbitrary marks which had been substituted for the figures of a young man and a square, joined together, he called them *phse* ; and this is, in my opinion, the reason why, in all the Oriental languages, which undoubtedly are the most ancient amongst all languages, we find the words expressed by consonants only, without the intervention of vowels. Because the arbitrary marks, or letters, by which these words are expressed, have been substituted for the figure of the object, which exhibited the thing, as it exists in nature.

What I have said of the word *phse* must be applied generally to all words in all languages, and particularly in the Egyptian ; for there is no doubt,

at least such is the most received opinion amongst the learned, that to the Egyptians we must refer the invention of the alphabet. How this happened we are informed by Zoëga; who, in his most excellent treatise on the origin and use of obelisks, has collected the different passages of Plato, Pliny, Plutarch, Tacitus, Diodorus, and Varro, by which he has proved that the Egyptians were the inventors of the alphabet. Before, however, I proceed to the investigation of this subject, I must continue for a little time longer our inquiry about the introduction of arbitrary marks; and the multiplication of them.

As the names which mankind gave to the different objects had something very significantly expressive of the leading characteristics of these objects, it was evident that they were obliged to employ different figures to express, sometimes, the same sound. To render you more sensible of the observations which I am going to offer you, permit me to have recourse to the English language.

I have already said, that by adding two or three monosyllables together, mankind formed words of two or three syllables; and that these words were expressed in writing by joining together the figures of the objects, the names of which were expressed by each of these monosyllables.

Now suppose we were to express in English the word *boy*, we should draw the figure of a lad; and if we were to express the word *hood*, we should draw the figure of a *hood*; and by putting these

two figures together, we should have the word *boyhood*.

Again; if, instead of drawing the figure of a boy, and of the hood, we should exhibit only the outlines of these two objects, we should still preserve to each of them separately the expressions of *boy* and of *hood*, and when joined together, we should still call the group *boyhood*, to mean the young age of a boy.

The same must be said if we should alter the outlines, and by degrees adopt, first, a very abridged figure of these two objects, and then an arbitrary mark. To each of these abridged figures, and these arbitrary marks, we should give separately the name of boy, and of hood; and to both together the appellation of boyhood: which marks, and which sounds, whether in seeing them painted, or hearing them pronounced, would convey to our minds the same idea as if we had seen the primitive figures of a boy and of a hood.

Again; we also call *buoy*, though differently spelt, the conical floating barrel which marks the situation of the anchor at sea. And, therefore, for this second expression of buoy, we could not draw the figure of a young man, but the figure of a barrel tied to a rope; and, to mark the use to which we employ it, we should draw the figure of a ship, which, being joined to the figure of the barrel, would give the word *ship-buoy*; and this appellation would be continued even after the figure of

the ship and the barrel had been turned into an arbitrary mark.

In this way we should have two marks, or signs, to express the same sound. At first, no doubt, as long as we recollected the originals of these marks, we should know the difference between the one and the other, and employ each accordingly; but it is evident that after a lapse of years, when people had forgotten the originals of both these two arbitrary marks, they would find two different signs to express the same sound; and if they were obliged to write down boyhood, or ship-buoy, they would be not a little confused, especially if they had but a slight knowledge of the English language, to know which mark should be employed in writing boyhood, and which ship-buoy.

What has been said of the words *boy* and *buoy*, must be applied to all other monosyllables beginning with the letter B, which would considerably increase the number of signs that might be used to express this letter. This multiplication would then produce a terrible confusion; for whatever care mankind might have taken to reduce the number of symbols, and to employ skilfully the same character, or the same form of characters, to signify a great number of things, which might have a resemblance, however trifling, to one another,—whatever care they might have taken, not to imagine new characters, but preserve the old ones by

altering their form, either by adding to, or taking away, some trifle from them; yet the number of these signs would increase to such a prodigious quantity, as to require an infinite number of variations, to express not only the multitude of objects which were to be represented, but also to convey the diversity of ideas which they were intended to excite. The inconvenience, therefore, arising from their number would be immense, and this is precisely what is experienced in the writing of the Chinese. Their characters amount to not less than 24,000, a number so prodigiously extensive as to require, nay to exceed, the labour of a long and industrious life.

Fortunately, however, for the Egyptians, they avoided falling into this terrible labyrinth, by adopting another mode, which ultimately proved a safer and shorter way of writing, and that was the invention and use of symbols.

Here, I hope, you remember what I stated in a former Lecture, about the nature of symbolical hieroglyphics, which are of three sorts. By these symbols the Egyptians expressed ideas; and the sound or words which they had attached to each of them did not express a thing by its figure, but by an abstract principle, which had attached an idea to the sign or character, by a mere convention, or by some known or supposed qualities belonging to the object which was expressed by the sign. Thus, two arms, one holding an arrow, and the other a bow, represented a battle; the moon was

employed to signify the months; a reed and a vase containing ink, or colour, the action of writing; the beetle, the world; the bee, an obedient people; the hare, openness and timidity; the lion, strength; the wings of a bird to signify the wind; and so on.

To these symbols we must add those which were employed to exhibit the names of their several gods and goddesses; and they sometimes consisted of the figure of the animals which were sacred to them. Thus, a hawk represented the god Phre; a ram, Jupiter Ammon; a crocodile, the god Suchus; an ibis, the god Thoth; and the like. At other times, we find the same deities represented by symbols which might be considered perfectly enigmatical: for instance, the figure of an eye was used to designate Osiris; the nilometer, the god Phtha; an obelisk, Jupiter Ammon; and, you remember, I hope, all the other symbols which I exhibited in a former Lecture, by which the Egyptians signified their gods.

Thus then, it is evident, that the Egyptians, in writing, when they could no longer represent the figure of a thing, employed symbols, which by themselves expressed an idea, and to which they had attached a particular sound; that is, had a word attached to each of them; and these symbols being joined to a figurative character, produced another word, which was made up by the monosyllable that expressed the figurative character, joined to the sound which expressed the symbol.

I shall explain myself by an example of the

manner in which they made their plural. We have seen that the vulture was employed to give the idea of a *mother*, which in this spoken language was called *mou*; and that the half circle, which was called *te*, expressed the idea of the feminine article. Therefore, by joining the figure of a vulture to that of the half circle, they made the compound word *tmou*; that is, *the mother*. Now it is clear, that in this group the figure of the vulture was symbolic, and that it excited the idea of a mother, merely by convention; for there is not the least similarity between the figure of this bird and the idea of a mother. The sound, however, which they had attached to this figure, was precisely the same as that by which they called *mother*.

You also remember, I hope, that the Egyptians in speaking formed the plural by the addition of the syllable *oue*, or rather *nuoe*, and that this idea was conveyed in writing by three perpendicular lines [Table 6, fig. 11.], to which sometimes the figure of a quail, or of a horn, was attached. In the spoken language, therefore, the word *tmounoue*, or *tmoue*, expressed the idea of *the mothers*, being composed of three monosyllables, *te*, the article; *mou*, the mother; and *noue*, the termination of the plural. And from the same principle, the picture of the half of a circle, of a vulture, and of three perpendicular lines, actually excited the same idea of *the mothers*. Now again, it appears to me, that, taken in the abstract, these three perpendicular lines

are absolutely symbolical, because they can excite the idea of an indefinite plural merely by convention, for their number, taken as it is marked, excites only the idea of the definite number three. By convention, therefore, these three lines express the plural, and they must consequently be considered as a symbolical character. But mark what has happened; by joining these three lines with transversal lines, which connect their high extremities with the lower, we produce an undulating line, and this evidently is the original of the arbitrary mark which has been substituted for the primitive character consisting of three lines. But we have seen the three lines to stand for the syllable *noue*, expressing the plural; and, therefore, we find that the undulating line also stands for the same syllable, *noue*, and equally expresses the plural; and as this syllable, *noue*, begins with an N, as soon as the alphabet was formed, the undulating line was taken to express that letter. Hence it happens, as I have already observed, that the Egyptians, by the very nature of their characters, like the rest of the Orientals, never can mark the vowels, but in writing exhibit only the figure of the object, or the conventional sign which has been employed instead of this figure.

This custom of mixing figurative and symbolical characters has been pursued in China also; and, no doubt, the Chinese adopted it after the example of the Egyptians. For, in the instances I have already quoted, this mixture of figurative and

symbolical characters is most evident, although, by the succeeding alterations, these figurative characters of the Egyptians can scarcely be traced to their original figures. If the view which I take of this subject should prove true, what then shall we say of the Chinese? They are no longer that ancient nation, who boast of a chronology which overturns all the antiquities of our globe; they are a colony of the Egyptians, though, perhaps, more than any other people, they have preserved their monuments, and thereby the memory of their origin. This, Carli had suspected long since; and many other writers, as well as Carli, have thought so; and now the Egyptian monuments, or rather the discovery of the original method adopted and pursued by them, confirms this opinion of Carli.

I shall endeavour to establish this fact beyond the possibility of doubt. We know, that in Egyptian hieroglyphics, the figure of the different animals had different significations, for sometimes they were used to convey the simple idea of the animal, and at other times the abstract and symbolical notion of a thing, which apparently had not the least relation to it; but then another hieroglyphic was added, which served to shew and express this allegorical meaning. This is also what the Chinese do. In their writing, the simple figure of a dog, for instance, or, what is the same, the arbitrary mark which has been employed instead of the figure of a dog, serves to excite the idea of that animal; but if this mark is joined to

the character expressing a man, then these two marks no longer mean a dog and a man, but exhibit a third idea, and that is *humility*; and if, instead of the sign expressing *man*, we employ the sign which is used to signify a *face*, then these two characters no longer signify a *dog and a face*, but the sense of smelling. And again, if instead of the sign of a face, we employ the one which exhibits a field, then we shall have another signification, and that is, the action of *hunting*, or the chase.

This is still more evident from the character by which they express the night. This character is composed of three signs, one signifying *obscurity*; another, the *action of covering*, and a third *a man*; so that the whole literally means the *obscurity covering man*, that is, night.

To express the idea of knowing, or being aware, they employ a character which is composed of two signs, one representing a mouth, and the other an arrow, which symbolically means the power of hitting; so that the whole group signifies, *the speech that hits like an arrow*. Indeed, of this symbolical signification of the arrow, we have an example in the Holy Scripture. In Ezekiel xxii. 21., we find, "The king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination. He *was mixing* his arrows." As the best commentators have translated it. And this most undoubtedly refers to the custom of almost all the Orientals, in a doubtful case, to shoot away arrows, to know what they were to do. On each of the

arrows they had written one of the answers that decided the question, and the answer which was written on the arrow that hit the mark, was the very one which was followed.

It is the difficulty of discovering this analogy, or rather the symbolical meaning of each character, that renders the Chinese language the most difficult of any. For, in order to understand the meaning of each word, we should be well acquainted with their manners, customs, laws, religious habits, prejudices, in short, with whatever has belonged and does belong to the people, and this no doubt is the origin of the emphatic and bombastic style and modes of speech used by all the Orientals.

Two more circumstances I shall quote, and I have done with the Chinese.

We have seen that the Egyptians inscribed, in an oval or a ring, the names of certain individuals; and in the Chinese books, the names of individuals are oftentimes equally enclosed in a ring. The Egyptians, in their *manuscripts*, invariably wrote in a perpendicular line, and went from right to left; and this is precisely the manner in which all the Chinese books are written. I might carry this comparison to a greater length, but from the examples I have quoted, it has been sufficiently proved, that in the invention of the characters, in their disposition, and in their simple as well as symbolical meaning, the Chinese have closely followed the example of the Egyptians; and that in the written languages of these two nations, we

find originally words made up by the assemblage of two or more characters, each of which exhibited the figure or arbitrary mark of any object to which they had attached a sound or a word.

Things were in this state when, fortunately for the benefit of mankind, there appeared in the land of Egypt a man, who observed that each monosyllable ended by a sound which, with little variation, was repeated in all monosyllables. These sounds, to which we have given the appellation of vowels, were soon distinguished, and it was found that each figure or character, which hitherto had been taken as expressing the whole monosyllable, might be taken as the representation of the first part of this monosyllable, which was more varied, and more liable.

That such must have been the case, appears from the very nature of the sounds or words by which the primitive simple figures were called individually; and I hope to be able to make the whole intelligible to you, by examples taken at random from the Egyptian language.

We shall take, for instance, the words *ro*, the mouth; *suo*, or *soo*, a grain of corn; *tot*, the hand. In all these words, the last termination, or sound, is always the same, always *o*, though the beginning is different, being T in *tot*, R in *ro*, and S in *soo*. Again, in the words *rime*, a tear; *se*, or *si*, a child; *tse*, or *tsi*, the daughter, we have another general termination in *e*, or *i*, attached to three other sounds of the R, the S, and the T; it was, therefore, evident

that these sounds, R, S, T, might be attached to the inflexions of voice, O or I, and still preserve their original pronunciation. By carrying this analysis into the sound of the other vowels, it became evident that these sounds were no more than four or five; that they were regularly combined, and repeated in every syllable, or monosyllable; that their combination did not alter the pronunciation of the stronger and more labial sound to which they were attached; and, consequently, that each hieroglyphic might be taken as the representation of this strong and labial sound, without considering the four or five inflexions of voice which invariably accompanied them.

Having gone so far, the next consideration was, to ascertain the number of these strong labial sounds, which were invariably joined to the four or five inflexions of voice; and this required very little labour; for as each syllable, or monosyllable, generally began with one of these strong and labial sounds, they had but to run over a certain quantity of words, to see that they were not many. Indeed, from the circumstance that Cadmus imported into Greece no more than *sixteen* letters, four or five of which were vowels, and from seeing that the Jews themselves had no more, and originally even less, than sixteen letters, it is more than probable that whoever invented the alphabet in Egypt, did not distinguish many consonants, and often confused two or more together: for instance, the D and T; the P, the V, and the F; the G and the K;

the L and the R; a confusion which every one who is in the least versed in the reading of hieroglyphics, must have constantly observed; and you remember, perhaps, what I said on this subject in a former Lecture, when, for the first time, I exhibited the hieroglyphical alphabet found out by Champollion; and in Table 2, I have, for this purpose, mixed these letters together.

In process of time, however, happened to the Egyptians what had happened to other nations before them. They began to distinguish more minutely between the sounds of the consonants, and thus increased their number; but I think that this addition did not take place before the time of the Pharaoh Psammeticus; for at that time the Greeks, having been permitted to visit Egypt, imparted to the natives the additional letters which they had discovered; and thus the Egyptian alphabet began to multiply, till at length, after the time of Alexander, more letters were introduced, and thus a more correct method of spelling was adopted.

But who was the man who first discovered these primitive letters, and invented the alphabet? I own that I am unable to give an answer to this question. All the authors who have written on this subject have followed theories of their own, and, on this account, I may be excused if I have ventured to follow their example, by imagining another, and thus to state what I thought to be the most plausible manner of solving this intricate question, the discovery of the alphabet. I have

given the credit of it to the Egyptians, because in this opinion I am borne out by the most transcendent authorities of the most accredited writers; and though I have differed from them in regard to the mode by which this discovery was made, yet I have followed them most closely in regard to the nation to whom the credit of this discovery is to be given.

In respect to the first inventor of the alphabet, amidst a variety of opinions, which is very appalling, there is a passage of Plato, which may, perhaps, be worth relating. He says, that "During the reign of king Thamus, his secretary, Thouth, or Theuth, came to lay before him the several discoveries he had made, amongst which was the invention of the alphabet; and he came to consult king Thamus whether it ought to be made public. The king, who saw the advantage of the discovery, was particularly adverse to the measure, and, like a true politician, concealed the real, and assigned a more remote and secondary cause why he wished that it should be kept secret. He, therefore, told his secretary, that if the new mode of writing should be divulged, people would no longer pay any attention to hieroglyphics; they would soon be forgotten, and thus prove the greatest hindrance to the progress of knowledge."

Thus far says Plato, and I am aware that this passage has been differently interpreted and explained by several writers; some of whom pretend that Theuth did not discover the alphabet,

but only the arbitrary marks which were to be employed instead of figures, as a shorter and less laborious mode of hieroglyphical writing. But this is a forced explanation ; for, according to the best critics, this passage has been employed to prove, that, at his time, a general opinion prevailed among the Greeks, that ascribed to the Egyptians the honour of having invented the alphabet ; for they say, that Plato would never have dared to give the credit of the discovery to the Egyptians, unless he had been certain of not being contradicted. If, therefore, this passage of the Greek philosopher has been made use of to prove that the invention of the alphabet is due to the Egyptians, it is evident that Plato does not speak of the arbitrary marks, but of the alphabetical letters.

Admitting therefore, the account given by Plato, this new method of writing was for some time, if we are to believe the historian, kept under the seal of secrecy, but as it might be expected, was generally adopted as soon as it was known. The utility of it was apparent ; it diminished to a prodigious degree the difficulty of writing ; it shortened the labour of memory, and was capable of expressing all subjects, all ideas, every possible thought, in the utmost variety with which they affect the mind.

The first who seem to have got a knowledge of this system, were the Phœnicians ; they imparted it to the Arabians, to the Jews, and carried it over to Greece. From that country it was exported to

the several islands, carried to the continent, and reached the northern nations. The Chinese alone refused to adopt the valuable discovery; proud of the antiquity of their social establishment, believing themselves superior to the rest of mankind, they still adhered to their ancient mode of writing. This, as I have already observed, though originally the same with that used by the Egyptians, became, in process of time, materially different, being made up of arbitrary marks, which are for the most part, ideographical.

With the discovery of the alphabet, however, a very material change took place in regard to hieroglyphics. Originally, as we have seen, they had been the common, nay, the sole mode of writing, employed by the nation at large, in all the transactions of life, and through the policy of king Thamus, the alphabetical letters were kept secret; but as soon as this discovery became known, the contrary happened; alphabetical writing became common, and hieroglyphics mysterious, not because they were purposely hidden in mystery, but simply because they required greater application and greater trouble. They indeed still continued to be used in matters of religion, funerals, public monuments, and the like; but in all business, and common transactions, the alphabetical writing was employed. This was a necessary consequence of the general use of hieroglyphics in their primitive state; for although the Egyptians might, and, in fact, did, give the preference to the alphabet, yet

they did not think it necessary to erase the old hieroglyphical characters from their temples, from their obelisks, from their tombs, and religious vases. The priests, therefore, still continued to study and preserve the knowledge of hieroglyphics; and these, partly by their showy nature, partly by the continuation of the old custom, continued still to be used in public monuments of a votive and funereal nature. To distinguish them, therefore, from the alphabetical letters newly invented, they obtained the name of sacred, on the score of their being employed only in matters of religion.

The priests however, who had already invented a new set of arbitrary marks, as a shorter way of hieroglyphical writing, which they employed exclusively in transactions which concerned their body and their pursuits, after the invention of the alphabet turned these marks into letters, and thus they formed another set of characters, or mode of writing, to which they gave the appellation of hieratic, as belonging exclusively to their order. In these characters they wrote all historical, political, and religious transactions. And as the common, or demotic letters, were employed in all the common business of life, and hieroglyphics confined to public monuments, and funereal, and votive ceremonies, the Egyptians became possessed of at least three different modes of writing, or sets of characters, which were hieroglyphic, demotic, and hieratic. Whether the priests had invented

another set of characters, unknown to the people, and in which they concealed their doctrine and their knowledge, is a question which cannot be solved at present. The want of monuments disables us from saying any thing of a decisive nature on this subject. One thing alone we can suppose with certainty, that if such a mode of writing did ever exist, and for the purpose which it is supposed to have existed, the knowledge of it must have been confined to the priests only, and the records so written concealed with the greatest care from the eye of the nation. If therefore such records exist, they must be sought for in the dwelling of the Hierophant, in the most recondite places of the temples ; perhaps in those subterraneous passages, which now lie hidden under mountains of sand, and in which no one but the priests were ever permitted to enter.

From what has been said, it is evident that hieroglyphics were never intended to hide mysteries, or in other words, hieroglyphics were in use as common writing, amongst most if not all the nations of the universe long before the invention of the alphabet. Originally they exhibited the regular picture of the thing; and by an easy and gradual alteration, for the sake of shortening labour, they were turned into arbitrary marks, which however had the same signification and import as the original figure. And as most of the words which were attached to each of these figures or marks were monosyllables, these figures and these marks were finally taken as the

expression of the hard sound of the consonants with which each monosyllable began ; and thus, by degrees, mankind came to the invention of the alphabet. But hieroglyphics, neither in their original nor alphabetical signification, were intended to conceal mysteries, nor was their knowledge ever kept from the people. To suppose, in fact, that hieroglyphics were invented for the sake of secrecy, is to suppose what has been contradicted by the most authentic historical records ; and to assert that the Egyptians had letters before they had hieroglyphics, is the same as to affirm that they danced before they could walk. Whether they had any literature, or scientific books, we will consider in our next Lecture.

LECTURE IX.

Continuation of the same subject—Opinion of those who ascribe the invention of the alphabet to the Antediluvians—Scientific and literary productions of the old Egyptians—Books of Hermes—A short enumeration of their several classes, and of the priests who were to cultivate each of them—A further account of the scientific productions of the Egyptians—Authorities of the classic writers—Libraries—Of Osymandias—Alexandria—An account of them—General observations.

IN my last Lecture I endeavoured to explain how mankind came to the discovery of the alphabet. We saw that the original mode of writing was the exact figure of the object, and that this figure, for the sake of diminishing labour, became first a simple drawing of the outlines, then a sketch somewhat resembling the outlines, and ultimately an arbitrary mark, which produced the three different modes of writing existing amongst the Egyptians, generally designated by the appellations of hieroglyphic, demotic, and hieratic. We noted that these different characters had a sound attached to them, and were mostly expressed in the common language by monosyllables. By adding two of

these marks together, mankind came to form words of two syllables, which in writing, were represented by the addition of the two marks, each of which expressed one of these monosyllables. Thus, originally, each picture, or hieroglyphic, had the sound of a whole syllable, that is, a sound made up by a consonant and vowel: and, by degrees, by analyzing the sound of the vowels in which these monosyllables generally terminated, men came at last to find the consonants, that is, to consider these marks, which originally represented a monosyllable, or a sound of a consonant joined to a vowel, as representing the consonant only. To prove this theory, we had recourse to the Hebrew, Chinese, and Egyptian alphabets and languages, from which we derived several examples, by which I endeavoured to join the different links of the chain of our reasoning.

Turning afterwards to the country where this discovery was made, we gave the credit of it to the Egyptians, and quoted a remarkable passage of Plato. From this passage we deduced many important consequences, and principally that hieroglyphics were never intended for secrecy, and that they were in use amongst all the nations of the globe, long before the invention of the alphabet; and I concluded the Lecture by a promise to attempt at ascertaining whether the Egyptians had any literature or scientific productions.

Before however I fulfil this promise, I think it necessary to state to you another opinion, by

which some celebrated writers have accounted for the invention of the alphabet ; an opinion which is often alluded to in works on antiquities, and is therefore apt to mislead those who have not paid much attention to the subject, inasmuch as it refers to times and to persons of whom no critical and authentic records have reached us ; for it is pretended that the discovery of the alphabet preceded the flood, and is due to Enoch. It is said, in fact, that Enoch communicated this invention to Methuselah, and this patriarch to Noah, by whose family it was gradually spread among their descendants, and carried into the different countries which they went to inhabit, as they separated under their respective leaders. It is further stated, that Noah brought it into China, where it underwent considerable changes, without being much improved ; that some of the descendants of Shem cultivated it amongst the Jews ; while his son Elam imparted it to the Persians, whose language is pretended to be a dialect of the Hebrew ; at the same time that the children of Joktan carried this alphabet into Arabia, whose language is also asserted to be another dialect of the Hebrew. In proof of this last assertion, the book of Job is quoted, which is said to have been written in this dialect. And lastly, that by Ham and his son Misraim this alphabet was introduced into Egypt, where, in process of time the priests, to conceal what they call abominable doctrines, substituted hieroglyphical for alphabetical characters.

Having thus disposed of all the African and Asiatic languages, to prevent the objection that might be urged from the difference of the European, which cannot be deduced from the Hebrew, it is stated that Cadmus first conceived the idea of generalizing this alphabet, by rendering it suitable to the characteristic principles of every distinct language. This he did by inventing sixteen letters, which he afterwards carried into Greece, and on which account he is considered as the inventor of the alphabet.

To complete the whole, it is finally urged, that the descendants of Japheth conveyed the same letters, and the same language, to the more remote parts of the world, differing from one another by the different shades arising from the fresh migrations, as they issued forth from the East, or from the colonies which had been planted in different countries from the parent stock.

To solve or prevent the objections that might be produced against this fanciful theory, the Hebrew language is made the mother tongue of all languages; and thus not only the Persian, the Phœnician, and the Arabic are considered as dialects, or corruptions, of the Hebrew, but also the Sanscript and Chinese; for it is taken for granted that Noah settled himself in China, where he died, not, however, before he had visited India.

To point out the tenth part of the endless absurdities attached to this jumble, a lecturer would require more time than I have, and be obliged to

undergo an herculean labour, which would deter many from applying to the task. I shall only observe, that to fix upon any of the languages still in existence, as the mother tongue of all others ; or, in other words, to pretend to have found out which of the existing languages was the language spoken by mankind at the construction of Babel, would be as absurd as to declare one's self a witness of the first meeting between Adam and Eve ; and to pretend that the invention of the alphabet preceded the birth of Noah, betrays such an ignorance of the origin of the arts and sciences, and of the manner in which they were invented and spread amongst mankind, as to preclude the possibility of reasoning with such men.

The whole, in fact, rests upon a vague and idle tradition which is found amongst the Jews, that Enoch wrote a book of prophecies, in which he spoke of the stars, of the descent of the angels upon earth, of their marriages with the daughters of men, of the dispersion of the Jews, of the last judgment, and other such like topics, intermixed with a great deal more than I can tell. It is further added, that this patriarch wrote this book in consequence of a vision, by which he was also directed to build a temple in the bowels of the earth, the entrances to which should be through nine several and distinct porticos, each supported by a pair of pillars, and curiously concealed from human observation, for the sake of preserving the ineffable characters he had seen in his vision, and

that he did build this temple accordingly. This tradition originated with the Jews and the Arabs, and I am not sure whether it does not exist amongst some of them to this day.

From this tradition an argument is derived, to prove that the invention of letters must have preceded the flood; for they must either have been invented before the birth of Enoch, or, at latest, by this patriarch. Unfortunately, however, for the supporters of this opinion, the book, like the temple, is but a vision; it was a fabrication, or rather a supposition, of the heretics during the first ages of Christianity, who, not satisfied with corrupting the text of Scripture, laughed at the credulity of their followers, by pretending to quote works that had never existed. But even granting that that patriarch had actually written the book, does it follow that he invented the alphabet, or that alphabetical writing was in use in his time? Might not that book have been written in hieroglyphics, that is, by the figure of the objects he meant to designate? To say that he invented the letters because he wrote a book, is to assume the very point in question.

These are all idle stories, generated by the love of wonder and novelty, which seems to form one of the great characteristics of our nature; and from which some, even of the greatest writers, have not been exempt. We may take it, therefore, for granted, that the invention of the alphabet took place in Egypt; and whether the steps and man-

ner by which I have endeavoured to explain the mode in which this discovery was effected, be admitted or denied, we may rest assured that it was effected by the Egyptians, who thus became possessed of three different sorts of characters, as we saw in our last Lecture.

The number of characters has also been doubted; for according to some writers, the Egyptians had four different modes of writing; according to others, two; and there have not been wanting those who have defended the opinion, that they had one only, which was the hieroglyphics; for the credit of having invented the alphabet is attributed, by these gentlemen, now to Moses, now to the Phœnicians, now to the Chaldeans, and now to Cadmus. From what has been said, you may judge of the degree of credit to which each and all of these fanciful statements are entitled.

We must pass now to the subject of this Lecture, a very important object of inquiry, and that is, whether the Egyptians had any books of literature and science, and if so, what were they? What was their number? What their nature? All these are very proper and reasonable questions; for as Egypt was always looked upon as the cradle of human knowledge, and the repository of all the historical records which commemorated the progress of civilization and learning, it is but just that we should inquire a little into the grounds upon which this flattering opinion rests.

From the scarcity of monuments, or rather

Egyptian MSS. which have reached us as yet, and even from the nature of those we have, mostly, if not wholly, of a votive and sepulchral kind, we are not to consider, as some of your writers have done, that this was the only sort of books or writings of the ancient Egyptians; for the fact is quite otherwise. From Diodorus we learn, that the tomb of Osymandias contained a library in which, according to Seleucus, as it is related by Iamblicus, there were 20,000 volumes, and according to Manetho, 3525, which on account of their antiquity, or of the importance of the subject, were honoured with the title of Hermetic, that is, belonging to the god Shoth or Hermes.

Amongst these sacred books they reckoned, and paid a particular veneration to, those which treated of the nature, the order, and the worship of the gods. Such was, according to Manetho, the book written by the Pharaoh Suphis, to whom he attributes the building of the greatest pyramid. This prince had been at first a great despiser of the gods, but wished afterwards to atone for his impiety, by the composition of this book, which was held in great veneration by the Egyptians. Of the same sort was another book, which explained the rites and the worship which were to be paid to the gods, and other such topics, upon which the priests had written an immensity of volumes by way of commentary.

Besides these, they had another set of books, which they styled Pseudo Hermeti, containing

hymns, or lyric poems, in honour of their gods and their heroes, the most ancient of which seem to have been the hymns of Isis. By means of these, Diodorus says, the priests used to instruct their sovereigns, and by the record of the great and pious deeds of their predecessors, excite them to the practice of virtue. These books, from their contents and purport, were entitled "Institution of the Royal Life," that is, rules of life for a sovereign. They were written in lyric measure, a custom which in our Lecture on lyric poetry, we saw to have prevailed among the most ancient nations, and consequently followed by the Egyptians, from the earliest period of their monarchy. They had also books of astronomy, cosmography, geography, medicine, and others, which they called astrological books; these were a kind of encyclopædia, containing the whole science of the hierogrammatæ, who in Egypt were, as they afterwards became in Greece, both grammarians and sophists. In these books there was every thing which belonged to the measure and valuation of the land, to the manner in which the income of the sovereign, and of the different colleges of the priests should be let out, the description of the whole of Egypt, and of the Nile; the catalogue of the public revenue, as well as of the different articles which were used in the service of the temples, and the record of the several measures for all commodities.

These, and other books of the same species,

were divided into as many classes, as the priests themselves were divided into ; and it seems that each class of the priesthood was obliged to learn and cultivate one particular department of science. For this we have the authority of Clement ; and as the passage is curious, and throws a great light on this part of our inquiry, it may amuse you to hear it at full length.

Talking of the most sacred books, which were considered as the works of Hermes, and confined to the different classes of the priesthood, our historian thus proceeds :

“ In Egypt each individual cultivates a particular branch of philosophy ; and this principally appears in their sacred ceremonies. For, before all, goes the *Singer*, carrying in his hand one of the symbols of music. He is said to be obliged to learn two books of those of Hermes, one of which contains hymns of the gods, and the other the rules by which a prince ought to live. After the singer comes the *Horoscopus*, holding a clock, and a branch of a palm tree, which are the symbols of astrology. He must have perpetually in his mouth, that is, he must know well by heart, the books of Hermes that treat of astrology, and these are four in number. One of these treats of the order of the fixed stars ; the second of the motion and phases of the sun and moon ; and the remaining two, of their rising. Then follows the *Hierogramma*, with two feathers on his head, and a book and a ruler in his hand ; in which there are the instruments of writing,

some ink, and a reed. He must know what are called hieroglyphics, and those sciences which treat of cosmography, geography, and astronomy; and, particularly, of the sun, moon, and the five planets; the chorography of Egypt, and the description of the Nile, together with the description of the furniture of the temples, and of the consecrated places which belong to them; and, lastly, of the articles as well as the measure of these articles which are used in these places. After these persons, follows the man who is called *Stolistes*, and who bears a square, as the emblem of justice, and the cup for libations. He knows every thing which belongs to the education of children, that is, every thing that has any relation to sacrifices, first fruits, marking of calves, hymns, prayers, religious pomps, days of festivals, and the like; the whole of which is contained in ten books. After them all comes the *Prophet*, who wears in his bosom an open water-pot, or bucket. This, according to Apuleius, was the venerable effigy of the Deity, but more likely of the Nile." [Indeed, you may read in the eleventh book of the *Metamorphoses* of that writer, the superb description he gives of this costly emblem, which is also confirmed by Vitruvius and Plutarch.] "He was followed by those who carried bread, cut into slices. The duty of this prophet, or rather of this prefect of the sacred rites, was to know the ten books which are called sacerdotal, and treat of the laws of the gods, and of the whole discipline of the priesthood. He also presides over the

distribution of the religious income; that is, the income arising from, and dedicated to, the purposes of religion. There are therefore, forty-two books of Hermes, which are absolutely necessary; of these, thirty-six, containing the whole philosophy of the Egyptians, are learned by those whom we have mentioned; and the remaining six are learned by the *Pastophori*, or tent-bearers, as they belong to anatomy, to diseases, to instruments of surgery, to pharmacy, to the diseases of the eyes, and to the maladies of women."

So far Clement; and what he says requires no commentary. For although he does not mention what the contents were of each class of these books, or why they were divided into volumes; yet upon the whole, what he says of the subjects of each class corresponds with the relation that other writers have given. The whole philosophy, therefore, of the Egyptians, according to Clement, may be divided into the following sixteen heads:

First class.—Hymns of the gods.

Second class.—Rules for the life of a monarch.

Third class.—Astrology, which was divided into four books, or volumes; the first of which treated of the order of the fixed stars; the second of the planets; the third of the phases of the sun and moon; and the fourth of their rising.

The fourth and fifth classes consisted of two books on hieroglyphics.

The sixth turned upon cosmography, that is, the description of the world and of the heavens,

or of the revolutions of the sun, moon, and five planets.

The seventh was on geography.

The eighth on the chorography of Egypt, and

The ninth on the survey of the Nile. From these two last classes, it is evident that the Egyptians knew and had the use of drawing charts and maps.

The tenth treated of the lands dedicated to the service of the temples.

The eleventh, of the articles belonging to these temples.

The twelfth, of the different measures of these several articles, and

The thirteenth, of the various things which were required to carry on the service of the temples.

The fourteenth head turned upon ten different subjects, which however, were of the same religious nature; such as sacrifices, first fruits or primitiæ, hymns, prayers, solemn pomps and ceremonies, festivals, and the like.

The fifteenth turned upon the gods, sacrifices, laws, and the instruction of the priests; and the whole was divided into seven heads, or volumes; and, lastly,

The sixteenth, which consisted of six books, treated of the mode of living, diseases, anatomy, pharmacy, diseases of the eyes, maladies of women, instruments of surgery, and the like.

These were all called the writings of Hermes; not that Hermes had actually written them, but

that, in order to render them more venerable in the eyes of the people, they had been referred to Hermes. Of these writings a certain quantity, or department, had been assigned to a particular class of the priesthood: the *hymn Singers* learned the lyric compositions; the *Horoscopi* the astrological; to the *Pastophori*, a kind of overseers, who were the lowest class of the priesthood, was assigned the medical department; and to the *Stolistes*, or *Sacrificers*, every thing concerning rites and ceremonies.

It was the duty of this class of the priesthood to inspect the animals that were brought to market for food, and to mark with their seal the oxen which were destined for sacrifices. For this reason, some of them were called *Moschosphragistæ*, that is, the markers of calves; and if we are to believe Porphyry, their duty consisted in the observance of not less than six hundred rules, which all turned upon the manner of choosing and killing the different animals either destined for sacrifices or food; and such seems to have been the earnestness of these laws, that the punishment of death was decreed to any one who should sacrifice a victim which had not been marked by the seal of the *Stolistes*. The whole, however, is fully related by Herodotus, and a curious account it is, and well worth your perusal.

It was also the office of the *Stolistes* to withhold from the sight of the profane those symbols which they were not allowed to behold; hence in public

processions they carried in their hands covered baskets, in which these symbols were enclosed. They also, at stated periods represented, by a kind of scenical exhibition, the adventures of Osiris, during which they buried him first, and then brought him to life again.

To the *Prophets* belonged the knowledge of the law, of theology, the discipline of the whole order of the priesthood, and the administration of the revenue; whilst to the *Hierogrammatæ*, or *sacred scribes*, were assigned the care and duty of making themselves perfectly acquainted with every thing that belonged to Egypt, whether sacred or profane, political or historical, military or commercial, scientific or literary; in short, with every thing that might be said to belong to Egypt; for they were looked upon as knowing the whole encyclopædia of their country.

Besides these sciences, or departments of learning, the Egyptians had several books on mathematics; a study which, though chiefly cultivated by the prophets, was not disregarded by the other classes of the priesthood. They had also books on grammar, geographical maps, and charts of the Nile, as well as of the whole country. These, it seems, were intrusted to the care of the Prophets; for it was their duty to be thoroughly acquainted with the constitution of Egypt, the prerogatives of the crown, and the rights and liberties of the people. They were looked upon as interpreters of the will of the gods, and, as such, were invested with the

most important offices of the state, as high priest, chancellor, treasurer, and the like, and even as the advisers and guardians of the monarch.

This is by no means a despicable account of the learning of the Egyptian priests ; but it is not the whole, for to these we must add other productions which the Greek and Roman writers have embodied in their works, and of which only fragments have reached us ; though by the way in which these productions have been used, it is difficult to determine accurately what was the original Egyptian. Of this sort was the book first mentioned by Fabricius, about the influence of the seven planets, and to which they had given the name of *Panaretum*, that is, possessing every species of virtue. They had attributed in fact, fortune to the moon, genius to the sun, love to Venus, necessity to Mercury, boldness to Mars, victory to Jupiter, and justice to Saturn ; and perhaps, under the same head, or at least, as a consequence of the doctrine laid out in the *Panaretum*, we must reckon the ritual, explaining the influence or power which the several gods had on the different parts of the human body. This ritual forms a part of the funeral papyrus found in a mummy whose name was *Petamenof*, and published by Cailliaud. I give you here the translation of Champollion ; and I give it with the greater pleasure, because in the mummies we find the images of certain deities invariably painted or engraved on a particular limb. This explanation therefore, will help you much in

recognising these deities, and the reason why they have been represented on that particular part of the mummy.

The *hair* belonged to *Pemoou*, the celestial Nile, the god of the primitive waters, and father of the gods; the *head* to the god *Phré* the sun; the *eyes* to the goddess *Hator*, that is, Venus; the *ears* to the god *Macedo*, a god generally represented with the head of a jackal, the guardian of the tropics; the *right temple* to the spirit of *Atmou*, in the habitation of *Siou*, that is, the stars; the *left temple* to the *living spirit*; the *nose* and *lips* to *Anubis*; the *teeth* to *Selk*; the *beard* to *Macedo*; the *neck* to *Isis* and *Nepthus*; the *arms* to *Osiris*; the *knees* to the goddess *Neith*; the *elbows* to the god *Ord*, of the region of *Gir*; the *back* to the god *Sisho*; the *thighs* to the god *Bal Hor*; the *legs* to *Netpe*; the *feet* to *Phtah*; the *fingers* to the living *Uræi*, that is, to all the goddesses.

This perhaps, may appear to some of you ridiculous enough; but I beg you will remember, that even at this moment ninety-nine men out of every hundred throughout the world, are holding these very absurdities, which we are ridiculing; they perhaps excite our smiles and our contempt in the direct ratio of our ignorance of the causes which have produced such notions amongst the whole of mankind; for as Champollion has properly remarked, “ Les savans qui font une étude approfondie des mythes et des croyances Egyptiennes

se garderont de porter sur ce tableau un jugement définitif avant de connaître plus parfaitement *toute l'ensemble* de la théologie Egyptienne.”

To this opinion I fully subscribe. For however ignorant and superstitious we may consider the Egyptian priests who lived after Cambyzes, I have no doubt in my own mind, that the predecessors of this degenerated race were highly civilized, and extremely well informed ; for cherishing and teaching doctrines which still secretly inculcated the purity of religion, the first founders of the Egyptian priesthood were obliged to employ symbols, and these symbols in process of time, through the ignorance of their successors, were the cause of all the abominable superstitions which disgraced the creed and the morals of the degenerated Egyptians even before Alexander. The very account of the tricks which their priests performed before Pharaoh, in opposition to the miracles wrought by Moses, rests on an authority which is too venerable to be denied, but which evinces the great progress the Egyptian priests must have made in mathematics, optics, and chemistry, as well as natural philosophy. The same apparitions, but of a nature more frightful and imposing, we know to have been displayed before the eyes of the aspirants in the mysteries of Isis ; and from the scattered account which the most dauntless classical writers have dared to give of these terrible apparitions, we are compelled to admit, that in the pursuit of many of the natural sciences, they were

our equals, and in some even our superiors. We are in fact informed by Manetho, that the Pharaoh Nechepsos, king of Saïs, and grandfather to Psammeticus, and the philosopher Petosiris, who was his contemporary, had written valuable treatises on astronomy, astrology, natural philosophy, and medicine. This last treatise is mentioned even by Galenus, and Aëtius, and that on astronomy by Eusebius and Pliny, though no doubt, very much altered and interpolated by the philosophers of Alexandria, who began to flourish under the Ptolemies, but whose ignorance and superstition were a disgrace to their school and their age. It is asserted that in this treatise Nechepsos and Petosiris accounted for the creation of the world, and the climacteric changes, or influence, of the heavenly bodies upon the human frame; for such is the account which Julius Firmicus gives of these books, which he says he had read. According to Zoëga, Nechepsos and Petosiris lived seven centuries before Christ. But this is a mistake: their age precedes the period marked by Zoëga by many centuries.

Be this as it may, to the Pharaoh Nechepsos is attributed the invention of placing each limb of our body under the immediate influence of a particular sign of the zodiac, in order that a proper remedy may be applied to each disease. “*Locum de signorum per membra divisione divinus ille Necepsos, ut remedia valetudinum inveniret, diligentissime quidem, ut tanti viri potuit ingenium, mani-*

festis tractatibus explicavit." So says Firmicus, as he is quoted by Zoëga.

From Saïs this prejudice passed to the school of Alexandria; was adopted by the Greeks and Romans; was further taught by the Saracens, and by them transmitted to the School of Salerno, and strongly defended and acted upon by all the medical men of every nation of Europe. It is still preserved in some of our most reputed almanacks; in those indeed, that boast of preserving the memory of many of our old notions, institutions, and customs, which, however ridiculous and absurd they may appear to us now, are nevertheless very valuable, inasmuch as they enable us to trace at least the antiquity of some of our prejudices, and the progress of our improvement, a very different thing, however, from what is enthusiastically called the *march of intellect*. You have but to turn to the almanack, which is perhaps, in the hands of most people, entitled *Vox Stellarum*, or *Moore's Almanack*, and there you will find that the different planets or signs of the Zodiac are said to exercise a direct influence, not only on the several limbs which constitute the human frame, but also on the political events, which often turn the destinies of mankind.

In its origin however, this dazzling prejudice might have rested on the received ground of the power which both the sun and the moon exercise on the flux and reflux of the sea, and on the atmosphere in general, a power which, in process of time, was extended to the other planets, and

with a more apparent reason, to the signs of the Zodiac. For if the two great luminaries have any influence on our globe, it is evident that this influence must vary according to their distances, and consequently may be supposed to exist also in the different signs of the zodiac, by which alone these distances were commonly calculated ; and as, generally speaking, some diseases affecting the various parts of the human frame seemed, particularly in hot climates, to be the effect of the different seasons, and perfectly endemic, it was natural to suppose that they were produced by the influence of the several constellations in which the sun was at the time, or of the different planets that happened to be above the horizon.

That this, or something like this, must have been the reason of the first notions of mankind, in regard to the influence of the celestial bodies upon every thing that moves in this world, is evident from the general dread which at all times has prevailed amongst all nations, in respect to the appearance of comets. This sentiment has been found to exist amongst the most savage as well as the most civilized communities, and even at the present moment is so strongly rooted in the mind of some people, as to prevent the possibility of convincing them to the contrary. Can we then condemn the Egyptians for having entertained those very opinions, some of which we have scarcely abandoned, while others are still cherished, and pertinaciously defended, by men otherwise well inform-

ed and highly talented ? Knowing by the united consent of antiquity, that Egypt had been the cradle of all arts and all sciences, and the very emporium of civilization, and its priests the first, almost the only instructors of mankind, with what grace do we venture to look contemptuously upon them for the sake of a few absurd prejudices, of which we cannot take upon ourselves to say that we have not a garbled and perhaps a distorted account ? Knowing so little as we do of the extent of their knowledge, which, from the stupendous relics of their gigantic works, we have every reason to suppose to have been very great, and astonishingly extensive, we laugh at the Egyptians for some absurd speculative tenets, while we are not capable of accomplishing one tenth part of what they actually did. The tunnel, for instance under the Thames, which seems to present difficulties sufficiently great to tire the patience of the English, if not to baffle the skill of some of our engineers, is a performance which the Egyptians had executed from time immemorial under the Nile, as you will see hereafter, when we shall turn our attention to the mysteries of Isis. But such is the unfortunate propensity of our nature ; we cannot bear a superior, we are scarcely induced to confess an equal ; and this failing of individuals may, with equal propriety, and stronger reason, be applied to nations also.

In regard to the Egyptians, however, this feeling is unjust, and at all events, ill-timed. We have nothing to fear from their power, nothing to appre-

hend from their emulation. The merciless hand of death has long before this, levelled to the ground these first teachers of mankind : their voice can no longer silence ours ; the sullen foot of Time has already turned that once flourishing country into a desert, and its power can never more be employed in emulation of ours ; the silence of the grave has long since closed on the whole of the inhabitants, and the greatest efforts of the human mind, and of the human power, is necessary to redeem the few precious relics from the hands of the barbarians who have now turned into dwellings the repositories of the dead, the very tombs of these departed spirits. If any thing is now to be obtained from these illustrious dead, it is the praise of sharing their immortality, by publishing to the world an impartial account of their doctrine and learning, an act worthy of a generous nation, to whom, perhaps, more than to any other, may be applied the "*parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*" of Virgil.

But to return.

We are informed by Tatian, that the Greeks had learned how to write history from perusing the Egyptian annals. This assertion is correct ; from the most remote antiquity, the Egyptians had, in fact, adopted the custom of transmitting to posterity the memory of past events. Originally, they seem to have written them in verse, and inscribed them on stones, in hieroglyphical characters ; but immediately after the invention of the alphabet

they employed prose, and began to write regular books, although they still retained the custom of celebrating, in lyric measure, the praises of their great men, and their heroes, which, as we have seen, was the office of a particular class of the priesthood. It seems, however, according to the account of the indefatigable Zoëga, who has collected all the authorities of ancient writers on this subject, that the books of history were very numerous in Egypt, and that the care of writing them formed one of the several duties of both the Hierogrammatæ and the Prophets. “Herodotus,” says he, “suppressing the mention of the books, asserts that he had acquired his knowledge about Egypt from the priests, who read to him from a papyrus the names of 330 kings, who had reigned in that country from Menes to Sesostris, amongst whom there were eighteen Ethiopian sovereigns, and one Egyptian queen.”

To discuss the truth or falsehood of this statement, would lead us rather too far from our subject; and I have quoted the passage merely to prove, that, at the time of the Greek historian, the Egyptians had numerous volumes of history; the same is attested by Theophrastus, who seems to have been acquainted with the royal annals of Egypt. We know from Manetho that he had collected his history from authentic records; and in fact, Diodorus mentions histories of all sorts, sacred as well as profane, and commentaries written on them; this is also confirmed by Josephus, and by

Strabo, who even praises the simplicity of their style. It is from these annals and these records, that the Greek authors, such as Eratosthenes, Syncellus, Apollonides, Asclepiades, and others, have compiled their histories of Egypt. What we have said of history, must be applied to law also ; for if the Egyptians have been the teachers of the Greeks in history, they have also been the instructors of mankind in law, and judicial proceedings ; and in fact, the account of their laws forms but a part of their political history. The law proceedings which they instituted from the most remote antiquity, have been adopted by the Greeks and the Romans, and are at this moment followed by most if not all the civilized nations of Europe, and are to be found in some of the courts even of this country. For this we have the authority of Diodorus. " From the most remote antiquity," says he, " immediately after the fabulous age of the gods and heroes, Menes published a code of laws, and persuaded the people to adopt them for rules of life. These laws were afterwards improved by the kings Sasyches, Sesoosis, Bocchoris, and Amasis ; and, being collected in eight books, they were intrusted to the whole body of the judges. According to the rules laid down in this code, the law proceedings were not allowed to be carried on by speeches, but by writing only. The plaintiff stated, on paper, the origin of his demand, and to this declaration the defendant was allowed to plead in writing. Should the answer not be deemed suffi-

cient, the plaintiff was permitted to repeat his demand, and state the arguments by which he might rebut the plea of the defendant ; and to this second demand the defendant was again permitted to reply. The whole then was submitted to the judges, who passed their sentence accordingly."

Besides these books, which in some respects may be considered as of a public nature, (for they treated of subjects that interested the community at large, and therefore not confined to the priesthood, although exclusively entrusted to their care,) there were others, which the priests alone were permitted to consult, and the reading of which was carefully kept from the profane. Of this sort were the mystic books, and secret writings mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, which treated of the origin of the Egyptian religion, and contained other secrets of the same important nature : such was, for instance, the one which taught that the age of Apis was not to be prolonged beyond the established period. Among this class the undaunted Apuleius also reckons those which contained the description of the rites to be performed in the mysteries of Isis ; Achilles Tatius those which treated of the phoenix ; and Damascius those from which the philosopher Asclepiades, a native of Alexandria, collected the whole system of the Egyptian theology.

It is deeply to be lamented that Alexander Severus, while travelling in Egypt, in a fit of ill-humour ordered all these books to be sought for,

and to be thrown into the tomb of Alexander. "Ne," says my historian Dion, "*quisquam corpus ejus videret in posterum, neve ea, quæ in libris illis scripta erant, legeret.*" Something, indeed, of the same sort, had been ordered long before by Artaxerxes Ochus concerning the historical books, some of which however, the Egyptian priests were able to redeem from the hands of the eunuch Bagoa, by paying their weight in gold: and in latter times, a similar step was taken by another tyrant, the emperor Diocletian, who highly incensed against the Egyptians on account of a sedition, exercised against the people his cruelty, and even ordered that all their books on metals should be burned, in order that, by the hope of riches, they should not be again tempted to rebel.

Other books, equally forbidden to the profane, and only allowed to the highest class of the priesthood, were those which treated of the causes that produced the inundation of the Nile. Although it seems that the generality of the Egyptians knew nothing of the heavy rains which fall in Ethiopia, and which are the only cause of the inundation, yet Heliodorus asserts that the priests were not ignorant of them, but concealed this knowledge most scrupulously from the people, no doubt for the sake of enhancing their own authority, and keeping up the species of sacred worship which was paid to the Nile.

I am not aware whether the books which treated of the highest departments of astronomy were

equally concealed from public inspection. That from the most remote antiquity they had cultivated this science, seems a fact that admits of not the least shadow of doubt. Strabo even asserts that the Greeks had learned from them the very rudiments of this science, that is, from the commentaries that the Egyptian priests had written on the books of Hermes. Hérodotus, in fact, relates that the astronomical records of the Egyptians extended to not less than 400,000 years. But in our Lecture on Chronology we shall see how these years are to be computed. They seem also to have been the first who calculated exactly the duration of the year to consist of three hundred and sixty five days and a quarter.

Amidst so much learning, and so many really excellent institutions, we must expect to find some absurdity and prejudice. The deep superstition in which the priests endeavoured to keep the nation, is no doubt one of the great causes of this lamentable fact. Deriving the greatest part, if not the whole of their power from the religious notions prevailing amongst the people, they had every reason to conceal from them all the knowledge which could explain by natural causes those phenomena, which hitherto had been ascribed to the immediate interference of the gods.

The books therefore on natural philosophy, as well as those on the origin and nature of the gods and heroes, on the essence and destination of the soul, on the formation of the universe, on the sub-

mersion of the world, on the institution of sacrifices, on the dispersion of mankind, in short, on all those topics the knowledge of which would have undoubtedly lessened the authority of the priesthood, were by them allowed to be consulted only by the Initiated in the mysteries of Isis ; and the seal of secrecy under which these truths were revealed, even to the Initiated, and the long and terrible trials to which they were exposed before they were permitted to become acquainted with these truths and these books, were considered by the priests as a sufficient security against any exposure or publication. In a great measure they seem to have been right in this supposition. From their first institution, the curiosity of mankind has in vain endeavoured to obtain a proper insight into the ceremonies and doctrines of these mysteries. The Initiated have kept their secret, and even the almost omnipotent hand of time has not been able entirely to rend or remove the veil, which from its origin, has concealed from the eyes of men the purport and extent of the imposing pageantry.

In spite however of so much circumspection and so much deference, some dauntless writers have been found, who have dared to break open the cell of these dark mysteries, and reveal to posterity facts and circumstances sufficiently strong and accurate to enable us to come at a great portion of the interesting details, if not at the whole extent, of this curious drama. Under the shield of their authority, we know now, and pretty exactly too,

what was the object of this institution ; what doctrines were revealed to the initiated ; what pledges they were obliged to give ; the trials they were made to undergo ; in short, most of the things connected with the nature of this far-famed exhibition of antiquity. Something like an account of it I gave in the first course of these Lectures, so far back as ten years, when for the first time I called your attention to the scenical representations of the ancients. A more accurate, and, to the best of my power, a more full narration of the whole will form the subject of a future Lecture. For the present we must go on with our inquiry into the scientific learning of the Egyptians.

The department of knowledge in which they appear to have mingled the greatest portion of superstition, seems to have been medicine. This profession had been held by the people in high repute, from the most remote antiquity ; and the progress which their medical men had made in the method of making up remedies, is even recorded with praise by Homer in his *Odyssey* ; and amongst the books which were called *Hermeti*, there were several written exclusively on the nature and symptoms of several diseases, and of the mode of treating them. We even learn from Herodotus, that the practice of each physician was confined to the study and treatment of one particular disease, a regulation which, at first sight, certainly produces a favourable impression ; yet it seems that there was a law, which decreed that this treatment

should be made according to the old prescriptions and method set down in these medical books, and that the adoption of another treatment, though not exactly forbidden, was at least extremely dangerous. For we are informed by Diodorus, that a physician was condemned to death, if he failed to save the life of his patient, by using remedies of his own invention; while no one took notice of him if he killed ever so many people by pursuing the treatment expressed in the above-mentioned medical books. The reason which Diodorus gives for this curious law is, to prevent ignorant and rash men from sacrificing the lives of the people. This is fair and plausible enough, but whether it does or does not hinder the progress of science, may be an object of dispute, at least amongst those who, according to our modern way of thinking, enjoy the full privilege of killing people in any way they please, without any danger to themselves.

The most curious part however of the whole is, that they had mixed astrology with medicine, and judged of a malady not from its symptoms only, but from some odd rules of their own, which made them look at the manner in which the sick person lay, and endeavoured to cure him by amulets and incantations, which they thought had some secret virtue attached to them. Indeed it seems that magic was one of the pursuits of the Egyptian priests, or at least, that they wished to deceive the people, and refer to the power of magic those

effects which they produced by their knowledge in chemistry ; for in this science we know they had made a considerable progress ; it had in fact originated amongst them, in commemoration of which they have given to it the name of their country ; for in the old Egyptian language the name of Egypt was *Kemi*, from which we have made alchymy, and in English chemistry ; but of this more hereafter.

Such is the short account I have thought it necessary to give you of the progress which the Egyptians had made in the several sciences. Of course, much of it must now to us appear absurd and incomprehensible ; but I beg you will remember that our information is derived through the channel of the Greek and Latin writers, who, perhaps, might themselves know very little of the subject, and at best might fairly misunderstand what was told them by the Egyptian priesthood. Indeed, upon this chapter I have no hesitation to assert, that what has been transmitted to us, is not the fair account of the Egyptian learning. We know, that to the nation at large the priests only imparted what may be called *practical* knowledge, for the sake of obtaining the conveniences of life ; but what was *speculative*, or *theoretical* knowledge, was entirely confined to the priesthood, and delivered to the initiated only in the mysteries of Isis. The account therefore, which the Greek writers have thought proper to give us of the learning of the Egyptians, can scarcely be called

accurate; the very circumstance of their never transcribing any long passage of the books which they mention, may lead us to suppose, that they had not read them. There is therefore, every reason to believe that the Greeks had derived their knowledge from oral communication, and consequently, had learned no more than was generally known amongst the people. This for the reasons already stated, cannot be considered as the real philosophy of the priesthood. Besides, we are also to remember that the Greek historians who have spoken of Egypt, began to visit that country rather late, at a time when the priests themselves had lost much of the learning for which their predecessors had been so justly celebrated; because, although under the Pharaoh Psammeticus, foreigners were allowed, for the first time, to visit the interior of the country, and settle in Egypt, the Greek historians who have spoken of that country, lived very long after that period; and you perhaps remember, that from the irruption of Cambyses downward, the priests, by degrees, lost a portion of their knowledge, until they became an ignorant and degenerate race, sharing in all the superstitions of the people. To judge therefore of the knowledge of the priesthood under the Pharaohs from the garbled account we have of their successors, is as absurd as to judge of the merit of the Greek writers under, or before Pericles, from the productions of their successors after Mahomet II.

I am led to this conclusion from what I have

already stated of the great library attached to what is commonly called the tomb of Osymandias at Thebes. Diodorus erroneously makes him to be the successor of Protheus, and a contemporary of Priam, king of Troy, for he was much more ancient. But even admitting the chronology of Diodorus, it is evident, that before the Trojan war, the Egyptians had made so much progress in philosophy and learning, and had composed so great a number of books, as to allow Osymandias to form a large collection of them. We also know, that at Memphis, in the temple of the god Phtha, there was another great library, from which the Greek poet Naucrates accuses Homer of having stolen both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and to have afterwards published them as his own.

True or false as this accusation may be, it is certainly a proof of the public opinion at that time in favour of the learning of the Egyptians; for Naucrates would never have dared to ascribe the first invention of the two poems to the Egyptians, unless they had been thought capable of writing them. Indeed the very circumstance that this collection of books was open to the public, and might be consulted by every respectable individual, must inspire us with no mean idea of the wisdom and civilization of the old Egyptians. The love of books, however praise-worthy it may appear, generally speaking, is nevertheless deserving of our encomium in two cases only;—when one is able to know their value, and appreciate them

according to their merit ; and when their use, that is, the reading of them, is not confined to a few privileged individuals. Whether the Egyptians actually deserve the praise of having been able to act up to the former case, I am unable to tell ; but they certainly merit the eulogium of having practised the latter ; for it seems that the principle of granting to the public a free access to these repositories of learning was never forgotten, and never abolished. It was one of the rules of the library of Osymandias, and it continued to be an established rule in regard to the library of Alexandria also.

And perhaps, since I have mentioned this once famous and still celebrated collection of books, I may as well occupy the few minutes we have left with a short account of its origin, increase, and destruction. You know, that at one time it was, and it is still, considered as the greatest library that ever existed in the world. It was commenced under Ptolemy Soter, and collected by the care of his successor, Demetrius Phalereus, from all the quarters of the globe. At the very beginning it contained 54,800 volumes. But, soon after, their number almost exceeded calculation. Josephus says, that it contained not less than 200,000 volumes, and that Demetrius hoped, in a short time, to extend it to half a million. Eusebius asserts, that at the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the number of books amounted only to 100,000. But he allows that, by degrees, the successors of this

prince increased it, till at last they collected the enormous number of 700,000 volumes.

It is true, that in regard to a great number of these books, the term volume may suggest a wrong idea of their size, as many learned critics and antiquaries have properly noticed; for many of them must have been papyrusses, or rolls, by no means as large as our volumes. But still the number stated by the different historians is so prodigiously great, that even admitting the force of this criticism to the fullest extent, the collection of books at Alexandria must have been immense; for we know that the Ptolemies spared neither trouble nor expense to collect as many books as they could. It is on record, that Demetrius bought, at a most exorbitant price, some of the works of Aristotle, and many other celebrated productions, for which he sent commissioners to Rome, Athens, Persia, and even to Æthiopia. It is even reported, that in this library there was the original manuscript of the Greek translation of our holy Scripture, commonly called the Septuagint, which Ptolemy had caused to be made, by applying to the grand priest Eleazar, through the means of Aristeus, a very learned man, and the captain of the royal guard. It is also said, that the autographs of the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, were to be found in this truly magnificent library. They had been obtained from the Athenians by Ptolemy Phiscon, on the deposit of fifteen talents, which

the Egyptian monarch chose rather to lose than return the precious manuscripts, of which however, he sent them a copy; and in justification of the Athenians, for parting with the venerable originals, the historian remarks, that the loan of them was the absolute condition on which Phiscon agreed to let them have some corn in a year of great scarcity.

It is to be lamented, that of this magnificent library not the smallest vestige exists. Every scholar is acquainted with the causes which obliged Julius Cæsar to order the burning of his fleet, whilst he was besieged in Alexandria. Unfortunately the wind carried the flames further than Cæsar expected. The houses near the harbour having caught fire, the conflagration reached the district which was called Burchion, spread to the magazine of corn, and at last attacked the library. Some writers believe, that in this terrible circumstance 400,000 volumes perished, and that all the rest were carried to the new library of Serapion. Amongst these were the 200,000 volumes of which Anthony had stripped the library of Pergamo. This famous library is said to have been formed by the kings Eumenes and Attalus, who, wishing to emulate the grandeur and magnificence of the Ptolemies, collected not less than 200,000 volumes, in their capital of Pergamo; but Anthony having taken the city, carried away the books, and made a present of them to Cleopatra.

Be this as it may, this library of Alexandria was,

for the space of six centuries and a half, a kind of bone of contention; and, after being many times pillaged, and as often restored, was at last utterly destroyed by order of the caliph Omar, the third after Mahomet, who commanded that, without any exception, the books should be distributed to the different baths of the city, and in the language of your great historian, "six months were scarcely sufficient for the destruction of the precious fuel."

In this manner perished the greatest collection of books that was ever made in the world; and the loss of literature and science is perhaps, more than any one can estimate. But even after its destruction, the library of Alexandria will always stand on the page of history as a remarkable specimen of the protection which, at all times, the sovereigns of Egypt have shewn to knowledge. If then, even under the Ptolemies, the degenerate Egyptians possessed so valuable a testimony of their attachment to learning, we may well conceive what this attachment must have been, during the brilliant ages of the Pharaonic rule, when the most valuable contributors to the scientific learning of Egypt, were those very priests, who had been the discoverers of so many important inventions, and, by their precepts and example, the instructors of mankind.

From the short account which, to the best of my abilities, I have endeavoured to give, we must acquit the ancients of any sin of exaggeration, and not wonder at the praises, however extravagant

they may appear to us, which they have bestowed on the learning of the primitive priests, under the Pharaohs. In the information which I have offered, my best guide has been the indefatigable and learned Zoëga, to whose work on the origin and use of obelisks I stand indebted for many of the facts I have stated to you. Indeed the more I dip into the antiquities of Egypt, the more I feel convinced, that the discovery of the reading of hieroglyphics is, without doubt, the greatest literary discovery of the age, or perhaps of any age ; and if some of the monuments of Egyptian wisdom, and Egyptian learning are still, as I suppose, in existence, I dare hope that human efforts, and European skill will, at some time or other, disinter them from under the mountains of sand and rubbish under which they are lying. If we can once get into the subterraneous passages leading to this theatre, where the mysteries of Isis were once celebrated, we may, I have no doubt, get at the chamber of the Hierophantes. There some monuments, perhaps some of the Hermetic books, may still be found, and what revolution they may produce upon our knowledge of antiquity, who shall tell ?

LECTURE X.

Different appellations by which Egypt has been called by the ancients—Origin of the name of Egypt—How called by the natives—Geography of Egypt—Its natural and political boundaries—Short account of the Oasis and of the Egyptian colonies on the eastern shores of the Red Sea—Curious answer of the oracle of Ammon—The Nile—Different names by which it was known—Its course and inundation—Division of Egypt—Attempt at ascertaining when it was first made—Difference between Modern and Ancient Egypt—Mistakes of the ancients—Causes which produced them—Alterations produced by the Greek writers in the Egyptian names—Mode by which they have been recovered.

FOR the sake of giving you, to the best of my power, a full idea of the extraordinary kingdom of Egypt, and its still more extraordinary inhabitants, I mean in this Lecture to direct your attention to its topography. I shall endeavour therefore, first to ascertain the different names by which it was known, and the extent of its natural as well as political limits; and in so doing I shall mention the different colonies which acknowledged the authority of the Pharaohs. I shall afterwards proceed to describe the Nile, the mighty river from

which this country derived the greatest part of its celebrity and power ; and as well as I can, exhibit a comprehensive account of its origin and course, and of the different names by which it was designated.

From the topography of this country, it is my intention to turn to its political existence, and to mention the number of governments, or provinces, into which it was divided, and the names by which they were signified. This consideration will lead us to observe the alterations which the Greeks made in the ancient terms ; and as a necessary consequence, to ascertain the causes of this change, which increases the difficulty of obtaining from them an accurate account of Egypt under the reign of the Pharaohs ; and I shall conclude the Lecture with stating the mode by which the old nomenclature has been recovered, so as to have allowed us to form a clearer and more full idea of the whole subject of Egyptian antiquities.

The country which we now call Egypt has received several appellations from the ancients. Most of them, indeed, seem rather epithets than names, though occasionally they have been used as such, and without exception they all betray their Greek origin, that is, they were all invented by the Greeks. Of this sort is the name of *Αρεια*, from the supposed wife of Belus, who was the father of Egyptus, and *Αερια*, from an Indian called *Αἶτος*. We find it also called *Potamia*, from *Ποταμος*, the appellation they gave to the Nile, and *Ωγγυια*,

from the adjective *Ὠγγιος*, which means, belonging to Ogyges. For the same reason we find it occasionally styled *Ἡφαιστια*, that is, belonging to *Ἡφαιστος*, *Héphaistos*, the name which the Greeks gave to the Vulcan of the Romans; and *Μελαμβολος*, on account of its land being of a black colour. It is pretended that the Phœnicians called it *Mysra* and *Myara*, which latter appellation may be a corruption of the former, or rather a mistake of the copyist; for *Misra* is the same as *Missr*, a name which the Orientals still give to Egypt. It is evidently an abbreviation of *Misraim*, who according to Scripture, first went to inhabit the land, unless we should adopt the opinion of the Arabians, who pretend that *Missr* was the son of *Misraim*. There was in fact, an ancient custom amongst the Orientals, generally to name a nation after some peculiar characteristic of their language, or some remarkable personage recorded by their history, or by their traditions; and this custom seems still to exist amongst the Arabians, the Persians, the Tartars, and the Ethiopians.

These were the principal, but not all the names by which the different writers of antiquity have designated Egypt; and this appellation, which like the rest, is of Greek extraction, has been adopted by most of the nations.

The Greeks called it *Αιγυπτος*, from which the Latins made *Ægyptus*, and the moderns *Egypt*. The fables which according to custom, the Greeks invented to account for this denomination, are

well known. *Ægyptus*, they say, was the brother of Danaus; and you remember the attempt made by the fifty daughters of this latter, to murder their husbands, who were all sons of the former. Danaus, who had planned and devised this criminal deed, was obliged to leave the country with his daughters. After much wandering, they arrived at Argos, where the king Pelasgus, or Sthenelus, received them with hospitality. At the death of Pelasgus, Danaus, having taken possession of the throne, gave his name to these people, who were then called *Danai*, whilst the Egyptians derived their name from his brother *Ægyptus*.

Unfortunately however, for this account of the Greek historians, and even of the poet *Æschylus*, who has written a tragedy upon it, there is no mention made by the chronological canons of Egypt, of any sovereign who had borne this name of *Ægyptus*, or any thing like it. Manetho indeed, speaking of Sethosis Ramesses, son of Aménophis III., and the chief of the nineteenth dynasty, relates, that Sethosis being on the point of setting out for a distant expedition, entrusted to his brother Armaïs the government of Egypt. This ferocious man, as soon as he saw himself free from the authority of Sethosis, began to tyrannize over the people, and even to form schemes how to possess himself of the supreme power. Sethosis, however, being informed of the wicked designs of his brother, returned to Egypt, and obliged Armaïs to leave the country, which he had polluted with his

crimes. He sought an asylum in Greece, where he took the name of Danaus. Such is the account we have from Manetho, which seems to acquire a greater degree of probability from the consideration of the epoch of the arrival of Danaus at Argos being the same with the reign of Sethosis in Egypt. But whether Danaus concealed from the Greeks the real cause of his banishment, or whether they had lost the recollection of the fact, it seems quite established beyond dispute, that the fable of his fifty daughters, whom they lodged in hell, to serve as an example to all criminal wives, is a mere imagination of their own.

The case is a little different in regard to the name of *Ægyptus*, which they gave to Sethosis, the brother of their Danaus. As they did not know the name of the Egyptian king who had expelled Danaus, they applied or rather extended to him the appellation by which they distinguished the country over which he reigned; but in process of time their descendants, who knew nothing of the origin of this name, thought that the country itself had received from its king the name of Egypt, *Αιγυπτος*.

Be this as it may, this name of Egypt seems a corruption of the Egyptian word *Kupt*, to which the Greeks added the syllable *ai*, and the termination *os*, and made *Αιγυπτ*, and then *Αιγυπτος*. The signification of this word *Kupt*, or *Gupt*, is simply a *Copt*, that is, an inhabitant of that country, which we now call Egypt, but which, by the Egyptians

themselves, was called **ΚΗΜΙ**, (*Kemi*), or **ΚΗΜΕ**, (*Keme*), a name which we find in the enchorial or demotic text of the Rosetta stone, **ΚΕΙ**, that is, *Kmi*, leaving out the intermediate vowel η or ε, always corresponding to that of *Αιγυπτος*, of the Greek translation. It means *black*, and it seems that it was so called on account of the black mud which the waters of the Nile left on the land. For this fact we have the authority of Herodotus; and it is even mentioned by Virgil, in the fourth of the Georgics, who says,

Et viridem Ægyptum Nigrâ fecundat arenâ.

If from the etymology and ancient name of this celebrated country, we turn our attention to its extent, and endeavour to establish its limits, we shall find that it was the theatre of long and fatal revolutions. The difficulties which present themselves to an inquiry of this sort, become greater in proportion to the distance of time, and the unfaithfulness of the historical records, mostly written by foreigners, that have reached us. We must therefore, not be astonished at finding this country so very different from what it has been, when under a wise and enlightened legislation. The people, who had already acquired a very high degree of civilization, assisted to the utmost of their power the efforts of nature, under one of the most favoured climates upon earth. The misfortunes to which this country has been exposed, have terribly changed the appearance of the greatest

portion of its territory. Formerly covered with gigantic monuments, populous cities, superb buildings, and magnificent temples, it now presents the appearance of a vast desert. The alteration is dreadful! The mighty people who once inhabited this land, raised on the banks of the Nile immortal vouchers of their existence; the degenerate people who now dwell in and tyrannize over this land, tread under foot the precious relics of these magnificent monuments, and dare to call those who raised them their ancestors. Egypt, therefore, as it now groans under the tyrannical yoke of the Turks, is very far from resembling Egypt, smiling and flourishing under the enlightened sway of the Pharaohs. Accounts of all sorts have made us acquainted with Egypt as it is; we must endeavour to obtain some knowledge of Egypt as it formerly was.

This country, properly speaking, is but a long valley, which runs from the south to the north, following all the while the course of the Nile, for more than four hundred miles. At its latter extremity, towards the Mediterranean, it becomes considerably wider, and offers a free passage to the several branches into which the Nile divides itself. Surrounded almost on all sides by arid deserts and mountains, and on the north by the sea, this country is thus bounded by natural limits, which seem perfectly immutable; but these have seldom been its political boundaries. From time immemorial it seems that Lybia formed one of the provinces

of Egypt; and Manetho relates an insurrection of these people against the Pharaoh Nekhéphés, the first king of the third dynasty, who lived 5152 years before Christ. From what I shall have to state in a future Lecture concerning the mode of computing Egyptian chronology, we may date the reign of this prince about the year 2900 before the Christian era; which evidently proves that from almost the very beginning of the Egyptian monarchy Lybia was under the control of the Pharaohs. In fact the ruins which we still discover in the Oasis, and particularly at the village or town of Siouah, seem to confirm the report of the ancient writers.

You know that the Oases are portions of land irrigated by rivulets, which produce vegetation, and assist agriculture in this part of the world, so entirely surrounded by a sandy desert. They are separated from the rest of the world, and seem like islands in the middle of a frightful solitude. The only road by which they can be approached is over a long and desolated tract of land, deprived of every particle of verdure, without the least appearance of humidity, and dried up by the burning rays of the sun. Their Egyptian name is *oua* (Ouahe) of which the Greeks have made Oasis. Herodotus mentions only one of them; Strabo three, and fixes their situation correctly. The first is called the great, the second the small, and the third the Oasis of Ammon.

The great Oasis lies at the distance of seven days' journey from the ancient city of Abydos, quite in a western direction, and was called by the Egyptians *ouase Psoy*, (Ouase Psoy,) that is, the Oasis of Psoy, which was the name of the capital nearest to it.

The small Oasis lies to the north of the preceding one, and near the celebrated lake of Mœris. The Greeks, whose imagination embellished even the deserts, gave to this situation the name of the happy island, or rather, the island of the happy. The Egyptians called it the *ouase Pemsje*, (Ouase Pemsje,) the Oasis of Pemsje, because it was situated near the town of that name.

The Oasis of Ammon, so called because it was near the oracle of Ammon, lay about twelve days' journey to the westward of Memphis, and of this place, as well as of the ruins of the temple belonging to this great deity of Egypt, Mr. Brown has given a correct account in his *Travels through Syria*. Some curious notions may also be collected from Belzoni, though not always correct in regard to history.

But to return.

Besides Lybia and the three Oases, the Egyptian monarchy contained also all the tract of land which lies between the Nile and the Red Sea. And during the beautiful period of its splendour under the Pharaoh Sesookhris, the Osymandias of the Greeks, and the Pharaoh Sethosis, Ramesses, the

Sesostris of Diodorus, countries still more distant, and people still more civilized, acknowledged the authority of these victorious sovereigns.

This historical fact proves that the Red Sea was not the boundary of the Egyptian monarchy towards the east. Beyond its shores the Egyptians had founded colonies, who spoke the same language as the people of Thebes and Memphis. Of this there seems to be not a shadow of doubt. The celebrated traveller Carsten Niebuhr, in one of his excursions to mount Sinai, which the Arabs call *Djebbel Mousa*,—the mountain of Moses, discovered on the east of the Red sea, that is, in Arabia, a very extraordinary monument, bearing evident marks of its Egyptian origin; and on the summit of another mountain, called by the Arabians *Djebbel el Mokatteb*, that is, the “written mountain,” he found the foundation of a vast building, full of sepulchral stones, six or seven feet long, covered with hieroglyphics similar to those of the Thebaide.

The existence of this cemetery is an incontrovertible proof of the extent of the Egyptian power beyond the eastern coast of the Red Sea. The reason of such an establishment, unless it be for the encouragement of commerce, or military expeditions, cannot now be ascertained, nor can we guess at the epoch of the first settlement of these colonies. Every possible reason leads us to suppose that the Egyptian monarchs took an early possession of the eastern shores of the Red Sea.

It is asserted that the Pharaoh Sethosis Ramesses made the first successful attempt. Some writers pretend that this prince lived 1409 years before Christ; but the account which Niébuhr gives of the monument he saw on Mount Sinai, evinces a much greater antiquity.

Such were the political boundaries of Egypt during the period of its greatest splendour. But this great power did not last long. With the death of Sethosis, or Sesostris, it seems that the Egyptians lost the ability and spirit of making further conquests, or even of retaining those they had made. The descendants of this great prince by little and little lost all the acquisitions made by their predecessors; and after that time the authority of the Pharaohs was confined within the limits assigned by nature to the Egyptian territory, that is, the whole valley of the Nile.

This narrow tract of land was then called, and has since been called, strictly speaking, Egypt; although this denomination has been extended also to that portion of land which the waters of the Nile overflowed during the inundation. For this we have the authority of Strabo and Herodotus; and this last writer relates, in confirmation of this assertion, that the inhabitants of two cities, Marea and Apis, being harassed by the Egyptians, on account of some religious ceremonies, applied to the oracle of Ammon, to know whether they could be dispensed from following the religious customs of their masters. The reasons they assigned for

such an exemption, were, that as they spoke a language which was not the language of Egypt, and dwelt in cities situated beyond the Delta, on the western boundaries of Egypt towards Lybia, they could not be considered as Egyptians, and therefore they should not be compelled to follow the religious customs of the Egyptians, which were contrary to their own. To this demand the oracle gave the following answer. "That all the country which the Nile inundated by its overflowing belonged to Egypt; and that all the inhabitants of the country below the city of Elephantina, who drank the waters of this river, were Egyptians."

At first sight, and according to the literal meaning of this sentence, we should imagine that the inhabitants of Marea and Apis had gained the cause, because both these cities being very far from the Delta, it was impossible for the inhabitants to taste the waters of the Nile. But the fact was not so. For the meaning of the oracle was, that although the overflowing of this river did not reach Marea and Apis, yet their inhabitants were Egyptians, because "they drank the waters of this river," which were carried to both these cities by means of canals, during the time of the inundation, and preserved in cisterns for the rest of the year.

This river in fact, seems to have been, if not the first, certainly one of the first causes of the prosperity of Egypt; and it is without doubt, one of the most remarkable singularities which draw on this country the attention of mankind. This mag-

nificent river, by its periodical inundation, imparts fertility and life to that portion of the country which it bathes with its waters. Without this beneficial influence, Egypt would be a sandy desert, like those immense solitudes by which it is surrounded. It is this river, it is the Nile therefore, which is the preserver, and I may almost say, the creator of the land over which it runs throughout its course.

The ancient Egyptians were fully persuaded of the force of this truth. They knew that without the Nile, Egypt, instead of supplying foreign nations with corn, would have been obliged to beg this article from them ; or rather, could not possibly be inhabited ; and knowing how to appreciate every thing which tended to the benefit of their country, they paid a kind of worship to this river, which they looked upon as sacred. Plutarch in fact, informs us, that the Egyptians gave to the Nile the name of the father and the saviour of Egypt.

The obscurity of its origin seemed to add fresh weight to this general feeling of the people. From time immemorial, no one has been able to ascertain its source ; and even at the present moment, the opinions of the learned differ very widely upon this subject, not less than they did amongst the ancients.

Herodotus confesses, that no one of the Egyptians, Lybians, or Greeks, whom he consulted during his travels in Egypt, knew any thing of the

subject. The hierogramma of Sais indeed, that is the priest who wrote and interpreted the sacred books, was the only person who attempted at mentioning a particular spot as the place of the origin of this river. But the description he gives of this place evidently proves, that either the hierogramma pretended to be wiser than he really was, or that Herodotus himself had not understood what the priest had said; for he places the source of the Nile in the middle of two mountains, situated between the city of Siene and the island of Elephantina, which is decidedly false. He tells us, however, that the course of the Nile was known for the space of four months' journey, but that its origin was much further off.

The story he adds, of some Lybians having crossed the desert, for the sake of ascertaining the source of this river, is evidently another mistake. He says that these Lybians, after a long journey, arrived at a flat country, full of fruit trees, where they were made prisoners by men of a very short stature, who led them across a marshy plain, to a town inhabited by negroes; and at the west of this town flowed a large river, which they conceived to be the Nile, as it was frequented by crocodiles. Supposing this journey to be true, the river must have been either the Senegal, or some other river that flows into it, but could never possibly be the Nile, and much less its source.

Indeed, the notions the Greeks had upon this subject are of the most ridiculous nature. Strabo

thought that the Nile originated in Mauritania, in a place full of monsters and wild beasts; but he relates an idle story of Alexander the Great, who, having reached the Hydaspes, finding this river inhabited by crocodiles, imagined that he had found the source of the Nile, and wished to sail with a fleet towards Egypt. General opinion, however, believed the Nile to have had its origin in Ethiopia.

In modern times, the notions of the learned have been, perhaps, little less erroneous than those of the ancients. The Portuguese Jesuits placed the source of this river in Abyssinia, in the province of Goyama, on the east of the lake Dambeia. Bruce seemed to have given his authority to this supposition of the Jesuits; and it is very amusing to read in his travels, the description he gives of the spot where the supposed Nile springs from under ground, and the ceremonies he performed on tasting of its water; and he further states, that the Nile, after crossing Ethiopia, joins itself to a large river, which in the Arabian language is called the *white river*. According to Cailliaud, this white river seems to be the true Nile; and you may read the whole account of it in his "*Voyage a Meroé*," which is a very interesting book, and from which much information may be gathered.

However, before Cailliaud, the London African Society, upon the best possible information that could be obtained, had established that the *white*

river of Bruce and the Portuguese Jesuits, was the true Nile; and that the river which they considered as the Nile, was no other than the Abawi. According therefore, to the best discoveries, this white river takes its origin to the south of Darfour, in the country of Donga, and joins the Abawi in Abyssinia, near the town of Nouabiah, which D'Anville believes to have been built on the spot where the ancient Méroé was. But although no European had been able, before Cailliaud, to go so far into the interior of Africa, Major Rennel, whose name cannot but be considered as carrying the greatest possible authority, had thought, that from the Mediterranean to the head of the Nile, there are about 1440 geographical miles, in a straight line. The Nile, therefore, must run over nearly 2000 miles.

It would be an idle undertaking to describe to you the whole course of this river, and the several cataracts for which it has been celebrated by the ancients. These, modern discoveries have proved to be very insignificant, and scarcely deserving the name of waterfalls. I shall only observe, that these cataracts, or waterfalls, are many, and of them eight only are considered as deserving of attention.

After having cleared them, the Nile continues its course in almost a straight channel, strewed with islands of different sizes, until it reaches the Delta; there it divides itself into several branches. In ancient times these amounted to seven; at the

present moment they have been so neglected as to produce an immense marsh, and it is almost impossible to recognise the seven mouths of this river, so celebrated by the ancients.

Perhaps I ought now to notice the extraordinary phenomenon which, more than any other, has contributed to give celebrity to this river, and splendour to the country it washes ; I mean the periodical inundation, which begins about the summer solstice, and continues for nearly three months. The ancients have left us a detailed account of the influence which the height of the waters had upon the produce of agriculture, and the harvest of Egypt. “ The proper increase of the water,” says Pliny, “ is sixteen cubits. Smaller inundations are not sufficient to cover the whole country, and larger ones require too much time to subside. If the inundation be no higher than twelve cubits, there will be a scarcity ; if thirteen, a deficiency ; but fourteen cubits produce hilarity, fifteen security, and sixteen luxury.” By thus spreading its waters over the country, this river inundated the land to the distance of about two days journey on both sides ; but whether the old Egyptian priests wished to conceal from the public the cause of this phenomenon for the sake of inspiring a greater idea of the power of the Deity, and consequently to assume a greater authority to themselves, or that their ignorant successors, after the fall of the empire, had sunk into a profound ignorance, certain it is that the Greek travellers, who asked from

the priests to know the cause of this phenomenon, could not obtain a proper explanation. From Herodotus and Plutarch the scholar has learned the different opinions which they had heard on this subject, and no doubt he more than once has been tempted to smile. But it is very curious, that while the later writers referred the inundation to false or imaginary causes, Homer, who lived long before, had given to the Nile the epithet of ΔΙΠΠΕ-ΤΕΟΣ, which, according to the best interpretation, means, “swelled by rain.” It is, in fact, the profuse rain that falls in Ethiopia a little before the summer solstice, that produces the overflowing of this river.

Like the country which the Nile crosses, this river has been distinguished amongst the ancients by different names. The passage of Tzetzes related by Diodorus, has recorded them all. “The Nile, (says this writer,) has had three names. The first is Ocean, the second Aetos, on account of its rapidity, the third is Egyptus. The name of Nile is a modern one.”

Perhaps, in regard to its first name, I might observe, the word *Ωκεανης* is evidently a mistake, and it ought to be read *Ωκεαμης*. *Ωκεαμης*, in fact, is a mere alteration of the Egyptian word **ΟΥΚΑΔΩΗ**, (*oukamé*,) which means black, on account of the black colour of its sediment.

I am ignorant of the real origin of the term Nile; Diodorus indeed, asserts that this river received such an appellation from Νειλος, a king of

Egypt; but in the chronological canon of Manetho there is no Egyptian sovereign who bore this name. In the catalogue however, of the kings of Thebes, preserved by Eratosthenes, we find that the *thirty-sixth Theban king was called Phruron, or Nilus*. The custom of the Egyptian kings to have several names, was no doubt very common, and very ancient; but as Eratosthenes does not mention that this monarch gave his name to the Nile, I know not whether the simple authority of Diodorus be sufficient to establish the fact. To derive it from the Hebrew language, as some of our modern writers have pretended, appears to me an ingenious dream; and between modern and ancient speculations, I rather prefer the report of Diodorus.

It seems however most certain, as M. Champollion has properly observed, that the ancient Egyptians gave to the Nile the name of *ιαρο*, (iario,) which means *river*. It is also certain that the Jews adopted this name of river, as it is found in chap. xxvii. 12. of Isaiah, and in chap. xxix. 3. of Ezekiel. And it also appears that up to the thirteenth century of our era, the Copts still distinguished the Nile by the appellation of iario, or phiario.

Under the Greeks and Romans, Egypt was divided into three different parts, the *Delta*, or Lower Egypt; the *Heptanomides*, or Middle Egypt; and the *Thebaide*, or Higher Egypt. It is reasonable to suppose that this division is not to be dated from the time of the Pharaohs, as it is not mentioned by

Herodotus. But it seems certain, that, even during the reign of these princes, the country was divided into a great number of small provinces, each of which the Greeks called Νομοί, and the Egyptians πτοχῆ, *Pthosch*. Diodorus asserts, that it was Sethosis Ramesses, son of Amenophis III. who divided Egypt into Nome, at the time that he meditated the conquests of Asia and Africa. Being aware that the execution of these vast projects required a long absence, and wishing that his people should enjoy the benefit of a wise and well directed administration of justice, he divided his kingdom, or rather the whole of Egypt, into thirty-six small provinces, in order that the governors of each of these provinces might more easily attend to the execution of the laws.

According to this account of Diodorus, it seems that Sethosis Ramesses was the author of the first division of Egypt into provinces. But this is evidently a mistake. For it would be difficult to suppose that the primitive Pharaohs could have carried on the administration of justice, and the affairs of government, without the appointment of officers and ministers who could see the orders of the monarch executed in the different departments of the state, and in the various cities and villages of the kingdom. The necessity of appointing these ministers or governors evidently proves a division of land, to prevent the authority of each of them from encroaching on the authority of the other; and there is even reason to suppose that

such was the case, and that these governments or provinces were, in fact, six and thirty. We learn from Strabo, that this division was made in the primitive times of the monarchy, perhaps the period of the hieratic government. In speaking of the Labyrinth, he says, "This extraordinary building contained as many courts as there were nomes; and a little after he mentions the number of these nomes to have been exactly thirty-six." And indeed, if we were to adopt the opinion of the ancient writers who have spoken of the Labyrinth, we might be led to suppose that this superb building had been raised to serve as a point of union to all the governors of the thirty-six nomes, whenever the importance of affairs required that they should assemble together. It was, in fact, situated in the very centre of these nomes, eighteen of which lay on its northern, and eighteen on its southern side. Manetho relates, that it had been raised by order of the Pharaoh Lamaris, or Labaris, who gave to this monument his own name, and who lived 1900 years before Sethosis, that is, more than 3000 years before Christ.

Be this as it may, one certain conclusion we may draw from these accounts of Strabo and Manetho, that the division of Egypt into thirty-six nomes, or Pthosch, was looked upon by the Egyptians as an institution of their first monarchs, much anterior to the time of Sethosis Ramesses, as is asserted by Diodorus.

Such is the short account of this extraordinary

country, in regard to its topography : and I must now proceed to consider the alterations which the Greeks made in the ancient terms, and the mode by which the old nomenclature has been recovered ; but before I do so, it is necessary that I should make some preliminary observations.

The name of this country awakens in the mind of the scholar recollections of a peculiar nature, as it belongs to the most memorable epochs recorded by history. It has been the cradle of all the arts and all the sciences ; and whilst many of the Oriental, and almost all the European nations, were plunged into ignorance and barbarism, Egypt, having reached the height of civilization, splendour, and glory, boasted of possessing the benefit of a wise system of legislation, and numerous colleges of priests, whose duty it was to watch over the improvement of knowledge, and the happiness of the people. Their institution, it may be said, must have been coeval with the establishment of the monarchy, and their progress so rapid and so extensive, as to have surpassed most, if not all the other nations of the globe. In fact, when under the reign of Psammeitus, the Egyptian empire, which many centuries before had been shaken and harassed by the repeated incursions of the Arabians and the Ethiopians, was at last overturned by Cambyzes, the whole of Europe could scarcely exhibit the first fruit of an incipient civilization. Up to that period, that celebrated country was, and from time immemorial had been, governed by

several dynasties of Pharaohs, who, by the wisdom of their laws, and the brilliancy of their conquests, had rendered the people familiar with every species of glory. But at this period, overcome by a conqueror who, by destroying its religious and political institutions, took from the nation every possible superiority ; subdued afterwards by Alexander ; but arising after his death to a new life under the Ptolemies ; bending under the weight of the Roman power ; in succeeding time conquered by the Arabians, and at last, fallen under the yoke of the ignorant nation which still keeps them in chains ; this country of Egypt has, at different periods, been the theatre on which knowledge and ignorance, happiness and misery, civilization and barbarism, have alternately made their appearance.

Nothing therefore, can be more interesting than the full investigation of the history of this extraordinary nation ; of their customs and their laws ; of their religious as well as political institutions, during the ages of their prosperity. These ages have long since passed by, and are now lost in the obscurity of time ; but this very antiquity seems to attach something so wonderful and extraordinary to the very existence of this people, as to lessen in some respect, the admiration and interest which they ought to excite. But the gigantic remains which still exist at Karnac, at Louqsor, at Esné, at Dendera, in short all over the land of Egypt, and the less bulky, though perhaps not less striking monuments which the greedy hand

of travellers or despotism has caused to be removed to Europe, will attest to future ages, that the Greek and Latin authors, who have given so alluring a description of the knowledge, civilization, and power of the old Egyptians, far from exhibiting an exaggerated account, have in fact told us much less than the truth.

This assertion will require no other proof than the simple statement of a few historical facts, which the Greeks themselves have transmitted to us.

By Strabo we are informed, that the ancient kings of Egypt took every precaution to prevent foreigners and strangers from visiting the interior of their empire; because, as he says, they were satisfied with their own opulence. It was the rigorous execution of this political measure which threw into the hands of the Phœnicians the greatest part of the maritime commerce of Egypt. This same account is confirmed by Diodorus. "The priests," says he, "who held the first rank, and exercised the first employments of the state, being persuaded that the happiness and prosperity of Egypt depended on the preservation of these customs, which perhaps, they themselves had established, endeavoured, with all their might, to prevent the people from having any communication with foreigners." This fundamental maxim of the Egyptian policy seems, at one time, to have been generally adopted by all the Orientals, and is still most carefully enforced in China and Japan.

Much has been said, and much still may be said, against such a regulation. A free intercourse with foreigners and strangers may, and does, no doubt, produce a greater degree of civilization, and encourages the progress of commerce. It may also be of use to eradicate from amongst the people some of the prejudices arising from a selfish notion of an exclusive superiority, and of which no nation is free; but, on the other hand, if we consider that these foreigners, while they communicate some portion of knowledge, communicate also many of their vices; and that commerce, if it produces riches, produces also luxury, and this at a long run, must enervate the courage, and destroy the moral principle of the nation; then perhaps, we might be inclined to justify, to excuse, at least, the Egyptian government and the Egyptian priesthood, for the measures they had employed to prevent foreigners from having any intercourse with their people. And indeed, the unfortunate events which, not long after the abolition of this maxim, put an end to the splendour and liberty of Egypt, seems to have fully justified both the Pharaohs and the priests.

The fall in fact, of the Egyptian empire might have been foretold by the relaxed manner in which the people and the government enforced the execution of the ancient laws; and it became unavoidable, as soon as the Pharaoh Psammouthis I. and his successor Amasis, had given permission to foreigners to multiply at pleasure their relations

and intercourse with Egypt. Under the reign of the Pharaohs who had preceded them, the priesthood, being both powerful and numerous, employed all their influence to keep up this exclusion of strangers; and as the priests were the depositaries of knowledge, as well as religion, they kept the Pharaohs themselves in a species of tutelage or subjection, and rendered the government of Egypt in a manner theocratical, or more properly, hieratical.

To preserve their power untouched, and their doctrine unpolluted, they had even been able to excite among the people a general dislike, and, indeed, more than a dislike, for every thing connected with navigation; so that if by law and custom strangers were kept away from their land, custom and prejudice prevented even the natives from wishing to leave their own country. But after Amasis, things began to assume quite a different appearance, and paved the way to the invasion of Cambyses. For this assertion we have the authority of Manetho and of Syncellus, who says, "*Egyptum autem Amasis tempore a debito regis obsequio secedentem, armisque et continuis tumultibus agitatam Cambyses subjecit.*" It was then that this ferocious conqueror, having put an end to the dominion of the Pharaohs, ravaged the country, pillaged the cities, burnt the temples, and almost annihilated the priesthood; and then the whole of this land, which formerly had been the

abode of the arts and of the sciences, lost its splendour, its glory, and its knowledge, without however losing its celebrity.

From Cambyzes to Alexander this country exhibits a regular succession of the bitterest civil wars, that ever raged amongst mankind. The perpetual efforts of the several chiefs to deliver their country from the yoke of the Persians, drew upon this unfortunate land the misfortunes and the ruin that are the inevitable consequences of revolutions produced by the stubborn resistance of a people, who still preserved the memory of their glory and of their lost independence. But the unfortunate success of these efforts, by increasing the power of their oppressors, rendered them still more tyrannical and cruel, and produced the greatest possible evil that could befall them as a nation, the oblivion of their ancient institutions and their ancient customs.

It was at this time that Herodotus visited Memphis. He saw this people, so renowned for their wisdom and their knowledge, in the utmost dejection, their temples ruined, their cities destroyed; and the high idea which even then he conceived of Egypt, allows us to imagine what his impression would have been, if he had been permitted to visit this celebrated country during the period of its highest splendour.

From this time the Greeks never failed to go to Egypt for the sake of instruction; and it was in the

schools of the Egyptian priests that the philosophers, the legislators, and the wise men of Greece acquired a great portion of their knowledge ; and yet what a difference between the priests of this period, and those who lived under the Pharaohs ! The priests of the Pharaonic ages were well versed in astronomy, physics, geometry, mechanics, and chemistry, in short, in most of the sciences ; while their successors, the teachers of Herodotus and Plato, were but the passive echoes of their predecessors, and scarcely could be said to have preserved the first rudiments and the general outlines of so much learning.

Among the Greek scholars, there were a few, who after returning to their country, attempted to communicate to their contemporaries, and to transmit to posterity, what they had seen and heard during their travels in Egypt ; and Herodotus seems to have been the first who attempted to give a short description of that country. But as the Greek alphabet had not a sufficient number of letters fitted to express all the sounds and inflexions of the Egyptian language, Herodotus, first, and all the Greek historians after him, were compelled to use those letters of their own alphabet which came nearer to the sounds of the Egyptian. The alteration which this mode of spelling, necessarily produced, is one of the causes why the Egyptian names are scarcely recognisable in the writings of the Greeks ; and this difference becomes more striking, and infinitely more diffi-

cult to unravel, according to the facility which they had in visiting the interior, and taking their abode in Egypt.

This was the case at the time of Alexander. Having conquered the Persians, he transferred the sceptre of that country into the hands of his countrymen; and under the empire of the Ptolemies, by little and little disappeared the last traces of the government of the Pharaohs, and of the ancient customs and usages of the primitive Egyptians. Every thing then assumed a Grecian appearance, and a Grecian tint; the Egyptian blood became degenerated by being mixed with the Macedonian; the ancient love for knowledge and improvement was lost amongst the natives; the priests themselves confined their cares and their business to sacred ceremonies, and, neglecting altogether the scientific pursuits which had engrossed the attention of their predecessors, they lost sight of one of the most important objects of their institution.

During this last period of the Egyptian empire, that is, from Ptolemy Lagus to Cleopatra, the Greeks made immense changes in every thing with which they meddled in Egypt. By translating into their language the names of most of the Egyptian towns and Egyptian kings, they took from posterity the power of recognising them under their ancient form, or even under the form which had been used by their primitive writers. This last circumstance indeed is very striking in the writings of Strabo, and much more of Diodorus, when com-

pared with those of Herodotus. In the account which this latter historian gives of Egypt, we find but few Egyptian names translated into Greek ; but the case is very different with his successors. Strabo in fact, made considerable alteration in the nomenclature used by Herodotus ; and Diodorus, following his example, made some change even in that which Strabo had adopted.

One of the principal causes however, for so unpardonable a liberty is to be sought for in that national vanity which formed the characteristic feature of the Greeks. Wishing to appropriate to themselves the discoveries of the great men of other nations, they tried to establish a similarity of origin, and I might say, of theogony, between their own gods and those of Egypt, as they had done with those of Babylon, Persia, and India. But ignorant of the Egyptian language, and mistaking the very essence of the Egyptian theology, they enveloped the whole under the veil of fable, and transmitted to posterity, not the real creed of the primitive Egyptians, but the corrupt notions of their debased successors, still more vitiated and altered by their own. Misled therefore, by their ignorance and their vanity, they erroneously conceived, that the Egyptian Athos was their Aphrodite ; Ammon, their Zeus ; Phtha, their Hephaistos ; Neith, their Minerva ; Horus, their Apollo ; Thoth, their Hermes ; Smé, their Themis ; Saté, their Juno ; and, Isis and Osiris, mere names to signify the moon and the sun.

This mistake of the Greeks is so much the more to be lamented, as the Egyptians had the custom of giving to many of their towns the names of their deities, and even of the animals that were sacred to them. The errors therefore, which the Greeks made in the names of the Egyptian gods and goddesses, are repeated also in the nomenclature of the natural history, as well as of the geography of Egypt.

But this is not all. The scholar has another and more serious charge to bring, not indeed against the Greek writers, but against the Greek sovereigns who ruled over Egypt, the vain and silly Ptolemies. These princes, wishing to transmit their names and their deeds to posterity, endeavoured to imitate the example of their predecessors; but unable to perform the stupendous work executed by the Pharaohs, they only betrayed their weakness and their arrogance, by the wicked attempt at erasing from the old monuments the names of their founders, for the sake of substituting their own. In spite of all their efforts, the deep and bold engravings of the primitive workmen still appear, under the feeble strokes of their puny successors; and the names of the great Pharaohs, by whose order these monuments were raised, may still be traced under the comparatively superficial lines which were intended to consign them to oblivion. Hence it happens, that the description which the Greeks give of these monuments mislead the reader, inasmuch as they speak of them as the original performance of the

Ptolemies, and not as the production of more powerful and more ancient sovereigns, the primitive Pharaohs.

To apply therefore to the Greek writers for a knowledge of the language, religion, laws, and customs of the ancient Egyptians, is to apply to a vitiated and prejudiced source, which exhibits only the darkest and most faithless side of the picture. The account however, which they have given may be of use; it may direct us to consult higher and more faithful authorities; and even their own narration, by the assistance of a proper and well-directed criticism, may serve to impart valuable notions. Hard and difficult as this criticism may be, it is of absolute necessity. Without it we shall add the erroneous opinions of our own mind to those which they have left us; and our errors in the language of your poet may be compared to

Alps on Alps arise.

Upon this statement, it may be asked, how then the old Egyptian names have reached us; or in other words, how have we been able to discover the old Egyptian names, which the Greeks had so altered as to render it quite impossible to recognise them? I answer, through the means of the Arabians, and the Coptic manuscripts. I shall endeavour to establish this fact by the following considerations.

Notwithstanding the irruptions, and the conquest which the Persians, the Greeks, and the

Romans made of Egypt, the feeble remainder of the nation still preserved in their common language the names which their ancestors had given to their deities, to their animals, and their cities. In this they followed the example of the Orientals, who at all times have been considered as preserving, better than any other nation, their names and their customs; so that, even at this moment, many of the most ancient cities in Asia, and indeed all over the East, are known by the names they received from the earliest time; and although subdued by foreign conquerors, they have preserved their native language, and local denominations. This is an observation of Iamblicus, who had paid a great deal of attention to this subject; and I think it perfectly correct. It is in fact confirmed by history; and perhaps, more so in regard to Egypt than any other people upon earth. For although the Greeks altered the ancient Egyptian names, yet these denominations were used by their own nation only, and adopted even by their countrymen residing in Europe; but never by the native Egyptians. These latter continued to use their ancient names, and either disregarded or despised the alterations introduced by their conquerors.

The Romans, when they subdued Egypt, being entirely ignorant of the language of the natives, but well acquainted with the Greek language, adopted all the terms and denominations which they had introduced; and the old Egyptian names, and perhaps the Egyptian language itself, would

have been lost for ever, had not the Arabians by their conquest, put an end to the jargon introduced by the Greeks, and protected and encouraged the vernacular language of their new subjects. Having at that time very little connexion with the Greeks and the Romans, feeling a sort of gratitude towards the Egyptians, who had assisted them in the conquest of their country, trusting to them the care of collecting the tributes which were to be levied on the different cities, and finding a great analogy between the pronunciation of the Egyptians and their own, the Arabs gave the preference to the Coptic denominations and names, and thus the changes introduced by the Greeks were for ever abolished. In this way the ancient names, being generally revived, were adopted even by the Arabians themselves, who have transmitted them to us with some slight modifications.

What these alterations are, I do not think it necessary to mention. The account of them belongs more properly to the analysis of the Coptic and Arabian languages, with which we have nothing to do; our object is merely to ascertain the mode by which the ancient Egyptian names, and Egyptian language, have been preserved.

LECTURE XI.

Statement of the subject—Difference in the chronology of the Hebrew text, and the Samaritan and Greek version of the Bible—Inadmissibility of the Hebrew computation, proved by facts mentioned by sacred as well as profane history—Ages of Nimrod, of Ninus, and of Abraham, ascertained—Foundation of the Egyptian monarchy by Misraim—Multiplication of mankind—Opinion of Bishop Cumberland confuted—Alteration of the Hebrew chronology—Objections stated and resolved—Reasons why the genealogical tables recorded by the ancient historians are entitled to credit—Causes which produced the discrepancy in the names and number of the different sovereigns—Attempt at reducing to a reasonable computation the fabulous reckonings of the Oriental historians—System of M. Gibert—Explained—Exemplified—Babylonian, Egyptian, and Chinese chronology.

IN one of my Lectures, speaking of the origin of the city of Abydos, and indeed in most of the Lectures that I have given on the subject of hieroglyphics, I have mentioned so repeatedly the high antiquity of some of the Egyptian monuments, that I think it necessary, before I proceed any further, to prove to you that this antiquity is by no means improbable, nor does it contradict in the least the commanding authority of our holy Scrip-

tures. On one occasion particularly, (page 203,) alluding to this antiquity, I made this same observation, and mentioned, that however startling the antiquity of some of the Egyptian monuments may appear at first sight, it is entitled to our belief, provided we adopt the chronology of the Seventy, that is, of the version which was made of our holy Scriptures from the Hebrew into the Greek language, at the desire as it is said, of Ptolemy Philadelphus, about three centuries before Christ.

To make you understand this point, I will, in the best manner I can, call your attention to some facts which will render what I have to state, in regard to Egypt, more intelligible.

You know we have three different texts of the Scriptures : the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the Greek ; or as it is commonly called, the Septuagint. As they inculcate the same doctrine, exhibit the same facts, record the same events, give the same history ; in short as they agree together on all points, they are either three texts, or copies of the same original. Their authenticity therefore is indisputable. The only thing they differ upon, is the chronology of the primitive ages of the world. The Hebrew text shortens its period, and reckons about 4000 years from the Creation to the birth of our Saviour. The Septuagint carries the calculation between Adam and Christ to above 6000 years ; and the Samaritan text adopts a third computation, which differs from the Hebrew and Septuagint.

To give you a specimen of these different modes

of chronological reckoning, I shall instance two or three dates. According to the Hebrew, we have, between Adam and the flood, 1656 years; according to the Samaritan, 1307; and according to the Septuagint, 2242. This difference becomes more striking, and by far more puzzling, in regard to the dates of the different events which are related to have come to pass after the deluge; for as we have no other mode for ascertaining the first establishment of the several monarchies, and the antiquity of the different nations, we find ourselves surrounded by almost insurmountable difficulties, whenever we try to reconcile the account of profane writers with the authority of the Bible. These difficulties however, principally exist in regard to the Hebrew text, which shortens the chronology so much, as physically to allow no time to mankind to become sufficiently numerous to fill a corner of the earth, much less to separate into different bodies, and perform the deeds which are recorded.

For this reason, I am not in the least surprised at the incredulity of those who, never having turned their thoughts to this subject, deny the antiquity of ancient monuments in general, and of the Egyptian in particular, and in short the authority of most profane writers, merely because they exceed the reckoning of the Hebrew Bible.

The object therefore, of the present Lecture will be twofold. In the first instance, I shall endeavour to shew that the computation of the Hebrew text is inadmissible, and that the chronology of the

Septuagint is the only true reckoning. This I shall prove, first, by arguments of fact principally drawn from the sacred pages themselves ; and afterwards by the authority of all writers, both sacred and profane, who, in giving the history of the several nations, have followed a computation which coincides with the chronology of the Septuagint, the only one known in the world, long before and after the birth of Christ.

Having thus ascertained the truth of the reckoning established by the Septuagint, I will, in the next place, endeavour to prove, that the antiquity of the Egyptian monuments, as it is recorded by Manetho, by no means contradicts the authority of the sacred pages, according to the reckoning of the Greek version.

Of the great many instances which might be adduced to prove the incongruity of the reckoning of the Hebrew text, I shall select two periods ; one preceding and the other following the flood. The one preceding the deluge will be the date attached to the death of Methuselah ; the other, following the flood, will be the birth of Abraham. The former I bring forward merely to shew the inconsistency of the reckoning of the Hebrew text ; the latter, besides this general purport, will have another object, much more important to our present inquiry, and that is, to enable us to fix, with a degree of certainty, the antiquities of Egypt.

In Genesis we are told that Methuselah lived 969 years ; that he was 187 years old when he begat

Lamech ; and that Lamech, at the age of 182 years, begat Noah ; therefore, if we sum up together the age of Lamech when he begat Noah, and the age of Methuselah when he begat Lamech, we shall find that Methuselah was 369 years old when Noah was born. Now Methuselah *lived* 600 years after this event ; and we are also told, that Noah entered the ark when he was in the six hundredth year of his age ; therefore, it follows, that when Noah entered the ark, Methuselah was still alive ; and as there is no mention made of his having accompanied his grandson into the ark, he must have perished in the flood. Let the defenders of the chronology of the Hebrew text explain this calculation as well as they can, and reconcile it with the account which Moses gives in Genesis.

Now for the birth of Abraham. On that period all writers agree, and the testimony of the sacred pages gives an indisputable weight to their authority, that powerful kingdoms were already established ; great cities had been built ; regular armies were maintained ; mankind already witnessed the pomp of courts, and the luxury of individuals ; Pharaoh appeared surrounded with his princes ; Abimelech came attended with the captain of his host ; the use of coined money was introduced, and Abraham himself was rich in gold and silver, in tents, flocks, and herds.

Now according to the genealogical computation of the Hebrew Bible, Abraham was born in the two hundred and ninety-second year after the

flood. This is too short a period to produce so much civilization and luxury ; by far too short to suppose so great a multiplication of the human species ; because, if such was the state of things in Egypt, and in other countries at a comparatively great distance from the first seat of population, we are also to suppose, that in this first seat of population, in the plain of Shinar, and on the borders of the Euphrates and Tigris, kingdoms had been formed, cities built, and courts established. We are in fact, informed by Moses, that the beginning of a regular government and of regal power was at Babel. Nimrod, the son of Cush, the grandson of Ham, the mighty hunter mentioned in Genesis, "began to be a mighty one in the earth ;" that is, Nimrod was the first sovereign who aspired to independence and the prerogative of an autocrat.

Upon this evidence therefore, we are authorized to believe, that prior to the birth of Abraham, the Babylonian empire had been founded. The difficulty therefore, will be to ascertain the date of the birth of Nimrod. If we admit the chronology of the Hebrew text, he was born 2218 years before Christ, that is, 130 years after the flood.

Now I contend that this period is much too short to allow mankind to multiply to such a degree, as to be able to establish a regular government at Babylon, to erect the building of Babel, and to divide themselves into different societies. The reasons which lead me to this conclusion are the following :

We know, that after the flood, the race of man-

kind proceeded from the three sons of Noah ; for there is no mention made any where that that patriarch had any other child after the deluge. According to the Hebrew genealogy, we cannot possibly admit, during the course of the first century, more than three generations. The text is clear. Noah begat Ham, Ham begat Cush, and Cush begat Nimrod ; and this is said to have happened in the year 130 after the flood. Upon this statement I beg leave to make the following observations :

According to the sacred text, in the first generation which proceeded from the three sons of Noah, we have seven male individuals in the family of Japheth, four in that of Ham, and five in that of Shem ; in all, sixteen males only. Now before we can give a wife to each of these, we must suppose an equal number of daughters born in the respective families of Japheth, Ham, and Shem. Taking ten years as the shortest possible period for the birth of these sixteen females, and thirty-five years as the usual age for marriage, nearly one-half of the first century must have passed away before these thirty-two cousins could intermarry with one another.

Now let us suppose that these thirty-two cousins, or sixteen married couples, were as fruitful as their parents had been, and consequently that each begat five sons and five daughters, the result will be sixteen multiplied by ten, $16 \times 10 = 160$, that is, one hundred and sixty people, amongst whom we

have Cush the son of Ham, as the produce of the second generation of the three sons of Noah.

Now these 160 people make eighty married couples ; and upon the same principle, allowing to all these couples ten children each, we shall have eight hundred individuals as the third generation from Noah, for such is the product of eighty, which is the number of the married couples, multiplied by ten, the number of children begotten by each of them. To these, if we add their fathers and their mothers, their grandfathers and their grandmothers, and even their great-grand parents, with the common stock of all Noah and his wife, we shall have one thousand individuals as the sum total of mankind at the birth of Nimrod, that is, in the year 130 after the flood. For the whole account runs thus.

Noah, with his wife and three sons, and their wives, saved in the ark	8 individuals.
Children of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, amongst whom Cush	32
Grand-children of these three patriarchs, amongst whom Nimrod, the son of Cush, the son of Ham	160
Great-grand-children of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, Nimrod, and the rest of mankind	800
Making altogether	1000 individuals.

This is much too small a number to justify the

account of the usurpation of Nimrod, the building of Babel, and the dispersion of mankind. Indeed, the very building of that tower required more means and more tools, and materials, and instruments, than men could have produced or collected in so short a space. For in the computation just made, the greatest part were children and infants, and therefore unable, for some time, to do any sort of work, for they must have reached the years of manhood about the time when Nimrod usurped the supreme power, and began to build Babylon, which could not have been sooner than thirty years after, if even then.

Nor can it be objected, that in the computation just made, too small a number of children has been allowed to each married couple; for the fact is quite the reverse. The Scripture in fact, in the second generation, reckons only thirty-six males as the grandsons of Noah, and we have allowed him eighty, which is more than double that number. For the truth of this assertion I have only to refer you to the tenth and eleventh chapters of Genesis, in which we have seven sons recorded in the family of Japheth, twenty-four in that of Ham, and five in that of Shem; in all thirty-six.

I am aware that other computations have been made, which give a number not a little at variance with that which we have had. Amongst these computations we must record that of Dr. Cumberland, bishop of Peterborough, who published, about a century ago, an amusing tract on this subject.

According to this prelate, the number of mankind about the year 140 after the flood amounted to no less than 30,000 ; and two centuries after, the married people alone to no less than 6,666,666,660. Now if to these we add the moderate average of two children to each marriage, we shall have more than twenty thousand millions of human beings existing in the year 340 after the flood ; a sum which exceeds by more than one half, any number that has ever been supposed to have existed in the world at any given time.

When an argument terminates in positive absurdity, it is hardly worth while, says Dr. Russell, to examine the process of reasoning by which the conclusion was attained ; and to confute the Reverend Prelate would be an unpardonable waste of time.

From what I have stated, and from other reasons which I forbear to state, it is evident that the chronology of the Hebrew text is inadmissible ; and every intelligent reader of ancient history, both sacred and profane, and even of the holy Bible, must see the absolute necessity of adopting the computation of the Septuagint version, which agrees with the writers of all ages and all nations, and with the Hebrew text itself, as it had been known in the world up to the second century of our era. Do not startle at this assertion : the reasons which, after having bestowed on this subject all the attention it deserves, have led me to this conclusion, are of the most convincing nature ;

Mira, sed et scænâ testificata, loquar.

The fact is this : up to the year 127 after Christ there was but one system of chronology, which had been followed by all chronographers and historians, whether sacred or profane, both before and after the birth of Christ. This chronology was the chronology of the Hebrew text itself, and consequently the chronology of the several versions that had been made of it, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Septuagint.

I could adduce many arguments to prove this to have been the fact, but this discussion would lead us much away from our subject. I will therefore mention one only of the many proofs of the agreement of the Greek version with the Hebrew text, and that is, that Josephus openly and repeatedly asserts that he compiled his *Antiquities* from the Hebrew Scriptures, and yet his chronology coincides with the computation of the Septuagint, and disagrees with the reckoning of the Hebrew text as much as the Septuagint now does. This was, in reality, the chronology which had been adopted by the heathen writers before the birth of Christ, and by the heathen and the Christian authors even after the death of our Saviour. For in point of fact, before the second century of the Christian era, no traces can be found of any controversy, or of any difference between the Greek and Hebrew texts of the Holy Bible. All the authors who quote the Old Testament at that early period, whether Jews, Christians, or Heathens, and even the apostles and our Saviour, have recourse to the Hebrew text and

the Greek version indiscriminately, without indicating the least suspicion in respect to their not perfectly agreeing together.

The difference, therefore, which we now find in the chronology of these two texts of our Scriptures, is the work of a time posterior to the first century after Christ; and it seems a fact now fully established, that this alteration took place about the year 30 of the second century. At that time a new translation of the Old Testament into Greek was produced by the Jews, under the auspices of their leading Rabbis, the object of which was to bring into discredit the venerable work of the Seventy. This task was performed by a learned man, and a pagan priest, of the name of Aquila, who, after having embraced Christianity, was for his heretical opinions expelled from the bosom of the Church, and therefore attached himself to the Jews, for the sake of injuring and calumniating the Christians, and their religion.

Although the liberties which Aquila and the Rabbis used with the original were soon perceived and exposed, yet two years after a work appeared, entitled *Seder Olam Rabba*, that is, the great Chronicle of the world; which presented to the Jews the first fruits of the labours which the enemies of Christianity had bestowed upon the Hebrew writings. This mutilated system of chronology was put forth under the name of *Rabbi Josi*, and favoured by the countenance of the notorious

Akiba, the supporter of the rebel and false Christ Barchocab.

The publication of the *Seder Olam Rabba* may with certainty be regarded as marking the epoch at which the Jews altered the dates of the great events recorded in their sacred books, and adopted the abbreviated scheme of ancient Chronology. I have already stated, that as the Christians were wont to produce the testimonies of Scripture against the Jews, out of the Greek version, the Jews were obliged to appeal from that Greek version, which alone the Christians understood, to the Hebrew text, which they understood not; and in order to avoid the arguments of the Christians, they not only translated their original Scriptures in a different manner, but altered the dates.

For five or six centuries this flagrant treachery of the Jews was at different times exposed, and consequently their new chronology was never adopted by the Christian writers. But about the year 720, the venerable Bede published his works *De Temporum Ratione et sex ætatibus mundi, &c.*; in which he endeavoured to introduce the reckoning of the Jews. But his reasoning was ill-received, and neglected; though perhaps, during the dark ages, the weight of his name might have procured some followers to his opinion.

On the revival of learning the controversy was renewed with vigour and freedom, and it soon called

into the field the powerful talents of a Scaliger, a Petavius, a Vossius, a Perron, and an Usher.

By the powerful efforts of these justly celebrated men, the reckoning of the Septuagint was again fully established. But at the time of the Reformation, the most stern of the Reformers, finding that the Samaritan computation was wrong, and wishing to oppose, in any thing and every thing, the doctrines of the Church of Rome, decided that the chronology of the Greek version must be equally wrong; and without analysing the grounds of their decision, they threw the weight of their authority in favour of the original Hebrew, and thus succeeded in introducing, at least among the Protestants, the corrupt chronology of the Hebrew text.

But if then, the concurrent testimony of all ages and all nations refer us to the computation of the Septuagint; if the dictates of reason point to us the chronology marked by this version of the Scriptures, as the only means of extricating ourselves from difficulties which we cannot otherwise conquer or explain; if the monuments of Egypt, undeniable by their nature, and unimpeachable in regard to their authenticity, add a fresh weight to the necessity of this adoption, and an additional authority to this computation, a computation which has been for ages the only one known in the world, we may, and indeed we must, look upon it as the only reckoning that can reconcile Scriptural chronology with those Egyptian monuments that now so boldly stare us in the face.

According to this computation, the period which elapsed from the creation of the world to the birth of our Saviour, contains not less than 5441 years, exceeding the Hebrew text by 1437 years. This period must be divided into two parts; one preceding, the other following the deluge; the former comprehends the space of 600 years, the latter a little more than 800; according therefore, to the computation of the Septuagint, the deluge of Noah happened in the year 2262 of the world; and from that time to the birth of Christ, have passed not less than nearly 3200 years. This period, with a very trifling difference, agrees with the greatest part of the chronological accounts recorded by the different chronographers; and, with very trifling variations, corresponds with the chronology of most of the Eastern nations, the Persians, the Hindoos, the Chinese, the Phœnicians, and the Egyptians; and it is quite sufficient to account for any degree of civilization and improvement, which we find recorded by the historian, under the first leaders of mankind. Amongst these are the founders of the Babylonian and Assyrian monarchies, Nimrod, and Ashur, or, more properly, Ninus. By adopting the computation of the Septuagint, Nimrod was born 334 years after the flood; to these, 30 years at least must be added, to allow him to be of an age sufficiently strong to become the head of his people, and we shall have 364 years as the period in which Babylon was founded. Now this number is large enough to

suppose the children of Ham to have multiplied to an extent quite sufficient for the establishment of the Babylonian empire; for during this period, there must have been eleven or twelve generations, which would produce a number of individuals sufficiently large to undertake the building of Babel, and soon after to separate under different leaders.

And here perhaps, I may be permitted to observe, that in adopting the reckoning of 5441 years from Adam to Christ, I have not assumed the largest number. According to the Alphonsine Tables, the computation would have carried us to nearly 7000 years; and even, according to Riccioli, to 5634, which is nearly 200 years more.

Having thus proved the existence of the Babylonian empire, anterior to the time of Abraham visiting Egypt, my next object will be to ascertain the period in which that patriarch made his appearance at the court of Pharaoh. According to the Hebrew text, he visited Egypt 1921 years before Christ, that is, 292 after the Flood. This computation is wrong. For if I have proved Nimrod to have established the Babylonian empire in the fourth century after the Flood, it is evident that Abraham, who was much later in point of time, must have lived long after the period assigned by the Hebrew Bible; and we shall find that, in fact, he did not come into the world till the year 1072, reckoning from the same point.

The proof of this assertion is by no means diffi-

cult, though perhaps, it may be a little intricate ; but if you favour me with a little attention, I hope to make the whole quite plain.

It seems a point agreed upon by all the most learned writers of antiquity, that Abraham was contemporary with Ninus. This monarch, having conquered the Babylonian empire, added its fertile provinces to his Assyrian dominions. By ascertaining therefore the age of Ninus, we shall in fact ascertain the age of Abraham ; and as this patriarch visited Egypt, at a time when that kingdom had already acquired a great degree of civilization and power, by establishing the date of his appearance at the court of Pharaoh, we shall remove every possible objection that can be urged against the antiquities of Egypt ; for it is only in reference to Egypt that we enter into all this discussion ; my object being to point out to you, that the antiquity of the monuments found in that country is proved by the most undeniable historical authorities, and by no means contradictory to, or contradicted by, the Mosaic account ; on the contrary, confirming every syllable of it.

Amongst the ancient writers who have endeavoured to transmit to posterity the history of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, the most remarkable are Syncellus, Alexander Polyhistor, Africanus, and the celebrated Moses Chorenensis, commonly called Moses of Chorene, who, in his Armenian history, has preserved a valuable fragment, copied from Abydenus, an industrious com-

pilers of Chaldean records. All these writers appear to have copied from more ancient authors, the passing of the events which they have recorded, the date of which is now lost in the darkness of a very remote antiquity.

All these historians agree in mentioning the names of eighteen different kings, who succeeded Nimrod at Babylon, and from their account it seems an established fact, that, between Nimrod and Ninus, three successive dynasties held the sceptre of that empire. The first, which commenced with *Nimrod*, consisted of seven kings, and continued for the space of 225 years; some writers say 190. The second dynasty consisted of six kings; it was founded by *Mardocentes*, an Arabian, who invaded Babylon, and, together with his successors, held the empire for 215 years. The third dynasty, consisting of five kings, began with *Belus*, and lasted 217 years. Now by adding together these three different numbers of 225 years, which is the duration of the first dynasty; 215, the duration of the second; and 217, the duration of the third, we shall have the sum of 657 years for the whole duration of the Babylonian monarchy, from Nimrod to Arbelus, the fourth descendant of Belus.

This Arbelus was conquered by Ninus, from whose reign begins the Assyrian empire, strictly speaking. He was a descendant of Ashur, the first founder of that monarchy, who according to

the Mosaic account, went forth from the the land of Babel, and built Nineveh, and other cities.

Now, if to the 364 years, which is the period in which Nimrod built Babylon, we add the 657, which is the whole duration of the Babylonian monarchy previous to Ninus, we shall have the sum of 1021 years, as the date of the birth of Ninus, who afterwards conquered Arbelus, and added the Babylonian to his Assyrian dominions. And as Ninus was a contemporary of Abraham, it follows, that the computation of the Septuagint, which places the birth of that patriarch in the year 1070 after the Flood, is perfectly correct.

I have said, that the Assyrian empire, strictly speaking, begins from Ninus, although it had been founded by Ashur. The reasons of this assertion are the following. In the first place, during the first 400 years of the Babylonian empire, no mention is made, by any writer either sacred or profane, of the Assyrian monarchy, or even of the colony which left Babylon, under the guidance of Ashur; and in the second place, we are assured by the sacred pages, that this Ashur was a descendant of Nimrod, although we know not the date of his birth, or how far distant he was in regard to relationship from the founder of Babylon; for the language of Moses is rather general: "And from that land," (that is, Babel), "went forth Ashur, and built Nineveh." Genesis x. Considering, therefore, that the population of Babylon

could not be so numerous in its origin, as to allow a colony to depart in search of a new settlement, we are justified in supposing, that some time must have elapsed before their number increased so as to require or permit a colony to depart under Ashur.

But this is not the time to inquire into this subject more minutely. My object is to establish the period of the reign of Ninus, for the sake of ascertaining the date of the birth of Abraham, as the only means by which I can prove the authenticity and antiquity of the Egyptian monuments.

It is undeniable, that when Abraham visited Egypt, that country had already attained a very high degree of civilization and power. But if we consider the natural state of that country, sometimes subject to the violent inundation of the Nile, which covers the whole land with more than twenty-two feet of water, and at other times exposed to a drought which threatens to destroy every principle of vegetation, we cannot but allow that an immense quantity of labour, and a great length of time must have been necessary, to cut the numberless canals which were to carry the superabundant waters into the immense lakes or reservoirs, from which, at a proper time, these same waters were to be distributed over the land. The performance of such works, and the building of cities, such as those which were seen in Egypt, evidently require the help of a numerous population; and this population

undoubtedly, proves the immense resources of the Egyptian government, and the high civilization of the people, while all together, they evince the necessity of supposing the concurrence of a great length of time, and the assistance of ages.

But this is not all. In the twenty-third chapter of Genesis, we have an account of the purchase of *Machpelah*, made by Abraham from the children of Heth, to bury his wife Sarah; and the minute detail of the whole transaction, for which he paid "*four hundred shekels of silver current money.*" Here then we have a current public money of silver, coined, stamped, and of a regular acknowledged weight. But this could not be done without the previous operation of discovering and digging the mines; of melting, purifying, and working the metal; in short, without a great previous knowledge and labour, in which by experience we know, that the industry of men makes but very slow progress.

Perhaps it may be objected, that the genealogy of the Babylonian kings, from Nimrod to Arbelus, upon whose existence, after all, the strength of my argument chiefly depends, is given by authors whose veracity on other points has been doubted, and, therefore, not entitled to an implicit degree of credit; and consequently if these kings, either altogether, or partially, had never existed, the age between Ninus and Nimrod being considerably shortened, the antiquities of Egypt must be brought so near the Deluge, as to render their performance physically impossible.

This objection is groundless ; because the period which we have mentioned, as passing from the Deluge to Abraham, does not rest upon the existence of the kings who reigned in Babylon before Ninus only ; but it has been proved by arguments drawn from the power of the multiplication of mankind, during the time which intervened between the Flood and the building of Babylon by Nimrod ; and it has been shewn, that by following the reckoning of the Hebrew text, there would scarcely have been a sufficient number of hands to gather materials to build a house, much less a city and a tower like that of Babel. Other arguments of the same weight, though of a different nature, might be adduced, by which it would appear, that the chronology of the Hebrew text subjects the whole account to objections perfectly unanswerable ; objections which entirely disappear as soon as we adopt the computation of the Septuagint version.

To impeach therefore, the veracity of the Babylonian and Assyrian historians on the ground of their having followed a chronology which contradicts that of the Hebrew text, is an ungracious and a groundless task : because besides the arguments already adduced to prove that the Hebrew chronology is wrong, there are others which seem to establish the reality of the descendants of Nimrod, and the authenticity of their records. For it seems an indisputable fact, that all the Orientals, and more particularly the native tribes of Arabia and

Syria, from time immemorial have taken the greatest pains to preserve their genealogies. Among the shepherds of Mesopotamia and Canaan the first efforts of literature appear to have been directed to hardly any other object besides perpetuating the names and succession of their Patriarchs. The tablets which contained the genealogy of his tribe, were regarded by the descendant of Abraham as the most valuable treasure that could fall to him in right of inheritance. The same feeling exists to this day in Arabia, and seems to have extended the pride of preserving the pedigree not only of their families, but even of their horses. The sacred pages are filled with catalogues intended to keep unbroken the long line of the descendants of Adam, through the whole ramification of the sons of Noah, in the family of Jacob, as well as the children of Esau; and indeed it will be found to have prevailed among all classes and denominations of eastern people, who continued to recognise a common descent, and whose rank and possessions could only be determined by an appeal to their genealogical tables.

For these reasons, the lists which have reached us of the Babylonian and Assyrian monarchs are entitled to greater confidence than a hasty reader would be disposed to allow. Though we cannot ascertain the manner in which these documents were constructed or preserved, and of the materials as well as the mode which were employed in keeping them, we are not permitted to doubt that

such catalogues were made, and carefully preserved. The actions, indeed, of some of the chiefs, through the ignorance, flattery, gratitude, fear, or hatred of the historian, might be exaggerated or misrepresented, without however altering the simple names of their ancestors, as well as their posterity. We may, for example, believe that Nimrod established the kingdom of Babylon, though we may doubt the dimensions of the city and tower of Babel. We may believe that Ninus, one of the successors of Ashur, conquered Babylon, and reigned over the Assyrian as well as the Babylonian empire; but we may be permitted to doubt whether he actually conducted his victorious armies from the Indus to the Nile. We may believe that his wife Semiramis succeeded him on the throne of Nineveh; but we may be allowed to express a degree of incredulity, of suspicion at least, about the immense space of ground which this city has been reported to have covered, or about the length and height of the walls by which it has been said to have been encompassed on all sides. The improbability of this statement ought not to lessen the credibility which is due to the other. Nineveh might not have been sixty miles in circumference; its walls might not have been one hundred feet high; and yet Ninus might have succeeded Arbelus on the throne of Babylon, and be in his turn followed by Semiramis, both in his Babylonian and Assyrian dominions.

It is true, that some discrepancies are observed

in the names, and dates, and actual number of the sovereigns who are described as having reigned during a certain period ; and nothing, I admit, is so likely to puzzle the understanding, and shake the belief, of a young chronologer. For indeed we find in different authors the names of the same dynasty of kings written so differently as to defy and baffle all the efforts of etymological skill ; as it is impossible to discover, in some of them, the slightest resemblance, either in their orthography or import. But this objection, which seems so insurmountable at first sight, gradually disappears by reading, and in a great measure vanishes with the full knowledge of eastern history. By this reading we discover, that almost every king had more than one name, and therefore it was a mere matter of taste and convenience to an historian by which of them he should call him. Indeed, it seems to have been an ancient custom in Asia and Egypt, for the reigning sovereign to give to his son some important government, with the title of king, which title or name was generally changed as soon as he succeeded to his father. The son of Shapor the Second, for instance, was called Kermanshah by his subjects, and by the European writers Car-masat ; but when he mounted the throne of Persia he assumed the name of Baharam. Indeed, there is scarcely a king or a sovereign of Asia, of whom the same thing may not be said from time immemorial. The sacred pages will bear me out in establishing the truth of this assertion.

In the books of Chronicles we find long lists of names, which, when compared with the corresponding series in other parts of the Old Testament, cannot be recognised. Esther, the favourite wife of Ahasuerus, appears under the name of Hadasah, the niece of Mordecai the Jew, while by the Persian historian she is exhibited under the appellation of Satira; a Hebrew compiler therefore, would speak of her as the patriotic Hadassah, a Grecian historian as the prudent Esther, and a Persian poet, or even a Persian chronographer, as the beautiful Satira. The same must be said of Daniel. You all know that he is sometimes designated by the appellation of Belteshazzar; while the three children, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, come forth, upon a change of circumstances, under the familiar denominations of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.

If from the sacred pages we turn our attention to profane history, whether connected or unconnected with the events recorded by the holy Scripture, we find the same alteration of names. In Ezekiel we read that he was brought "to the door of the gate of the Lord's house, and behold there sat women weeping for Thammuz." This Thammuz is probably the Thaumas of the Greek mythology, but undoubtedly the Adonis of the Phœnicians. The Nimrod of Genesis is the Evechoiis of the Chaldeans; the Ramesses of Egypt, the Sesostris of the Greeks; and you remember, no doubt, how these latter distorted the spelling of most of the

Egyptian names, whether belonging to their Pantheon, or to the dynasties of their monarchs, so as to be no longer recognisable.

Upon all these considerations, I have a right to conclude that we are not hastily to pronounce against the credibility of ancient writers, on the simple ground of their occasionally differing among themselves, either in the names, in the number, or in the dates of the different sovereigns. Because, these very differences when once reconciled on the basis of sound learning and criticism, the authority of the history, so far from being shaken or impaired, receives a stronger confirmation, inasmuch as they shew the historians to have derived their accounts from different sources, and different authorities.

I am aware that the opinion of many learned writers will be found in opposition to this statement of mine, because as having assumed, upon the authority of several ancient historians, that Ninus was the son of a chief called Belus, they have laboured to shew that Belus and Nimrod were the same person; and in this way, as they make Ninus to be the son of Nimrod, they deny the existence of the three dynasties which we have proved to have existed between these two celebrated individuals. But with the utmost deference to the labours and talents of these learned writers, I may be permitted to observe, that this appellation of Belus was not the name of a particular individual, but, like the appellation of Pharaoh, a title of honour, a political distinction, which invariably

distinguished the sovereign ; though, in progress of time, it was extended even to those who could boast of a royal descent. It signified, in fact, the lord, the chief, the master ; and for this reason, many are the kings, both in the Chaldean and Assyrian dynasties, who bear this designation of Belus ; and Dr. Russell observes, that this same title was conferred by the Phœnicians, the Persians, the Syrians, the Phrygians, and even by the remote people of India, on all their sovereigns.

The opinion therefore, of those who deny the existence of the three dynasties reigning in Babylon, previous to the conquest of Ninus, on the supposition that this prince was the son of Belus, whom they pretend to have been no other than Nimrod, is perfectly gratuitous and inadmissible ; and unable to overturn the position, that a period of 657 years intervened between these two princes, which renders Ninus a contemporary of Abraham, and proves, that, at the time of this Patriarch, not only Egypt, but even Babylon and Assyria, had obtained a great degree of civilization and power.

I have entered into all this discussion, not with the idea of giving you a lecture on Chronology, for this subject would require a whole set of Lectures, to be treated properly ; but simply to convince you that the antiquity of the monuments of Egypt, however high it may appear to you, is not incredible, nor contrary to the authority of the holy Scriptures. For amongst the primitive Christians, we find the Fathers of the Church, and most of

the defenders of our religion, to have adopted, on the authority of the Septuagint, a computation which approaches very near, and sometimes goes beyond, the chronology of Manetho ; and in many points perfectly coincides with the account of this Egyptian historian.

But here again it may be objected, that the periods of thousand and thousand years which Manetho gives to the Egyptian monarchy, even before the age of the Pharaohs, exceeds so much the computation of the Septuagint, as to appear not less fabulous than the annals recorded by the Chinese and Babylonian Chronicles ; and therefore, this circumstance alone is quite sufficient to authorize us to look upon his history as a compound of fables, entitled to no credit whatever.

This objection is certainly strong, but it is not fatal. For the enormous duration of the Egyptian annals, as they are reported by Manetho, as well as those related by other writers of the Chaldean, Babylonian, and Chinese nations, may be so reduced as to agree with the computation of the sacred pages, according to the most approved chronological systems, explained by some of the most celebrated Fathers of the Christian Church, well versed in Oriental languages and antiquities.

What I am going to state is chiefly taken from a letter published at Amsterdam, by Gibert, in the year 1743, a work which I can safely recommend to those who wish to acquire a full knowledge of this interesting subject.

From the account we have received from Macrobius, Diodorus, Varro, St. Augustin, Plutarch, and other celebrated writers, it seems proved that the primitive nations had the custom of giving the appellation of a year to a revolution of a planet, without however, confining themselves at all times to the same planet. In this way, when they considered the moon as the planet by the revolution of which they marked the progress of time, the year consisted sometimes of one week, at other times of two, and more generally of four weeks, according to the mode they looked upon each, or all its phases, as the mark of time. Thus, for instance, if they took the whole of one of its revolutions into calculation, whether from a new or from a full moon, to the next new or the next full moon, the year consisted of a whole month. While, on the other hand, if they reckoned from the new to the full moon, or from one quarter to the next quarter, the year then consisted of one or two weeks. The same principle they applied to the motion of the sun. When they took the whole revolution of that planet, counting time from the moment it left a fixed place of the heaven, till its return to the same place, then the year consisted of twelve months. But as sometimes they confined their observation to a part only of its annual career, whether from solstice to solstice, or from a solstice to the next equinox, then the year, in the first case, consisted of six months, and in the second only of three. And we are informed by Palephatus

and Suidas that very often they reckoned their time by the apparent diurnal motion of that planet, that is, from sun-rising to sun-rising, and not seldom from sun-rising to sun-setting.

From this statement it is evident that the length of the year, amongst the ancients, varied considerably. Sometimes it consisted of twelve, and at other times of six, or even three months; sometimes of four, and at other times one or two weeks, and very often of a single day. This difference, as I have already mentioned, arose from their taking now the sun, now the moon, and sometimes the whole, and other times only a part, of the revolution of each of these luminaries, as a measure of time.

This being established, the question will be to ascertain which of these reckonings was followed by the Chaldeans, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Chinese, in computing the length of their annals. M. Gibert asserts, that it was the diurnal revolution of the sun. He says that the solar day was their astronomical year; and he proves this assertion by a variety of arguments, which seem to establish the truth of his opinion.

As neither the object of this Lecture, nor the time allowed to us, permit me to follow the learned writer in all the views he takes of this subject, I must be satisfied to give you the results only of his reasoning; and they turn chiefly on the manner in which the enormous length of the Oriental annals may be reduced, so as to correspond with

our chronology. Thus, for instance, the 473,000 years which the Chaldeans allowed to their empire, if they be considered as so many days, and the whole be divided by 365, we shall have the sum of nearly 1296 of our years. Now this is precisely the period which Eusebius makes to have elapsed, from the first discoveries made in astronomy by Atlas, to the invasion of Asia by Alexander. According to the chronology of the Septuagint, this invasion took place in the year 1682; after the death of Abraham; and Eusebius, following the same chronology, asserts that the astronomical discoveries of Atlas happened in the three hundred and eighty-fourth year after the death of Abraham; deducting, therefore, 384 from 1682, the result is 1298, which is very nearly the sum total of the 473,000 years mentioned by the Chaldean Chronicle.

Again; Callisthenes, in calculating the antiquity of the Babylonian astronomical observations, says, that they took place 1903 years before the taking of that empire by Alexander. This number of 1903 years, established by Callisthenes, seems quite irreconcilable with that mentioned by the Babylonian historian Epigenes, who asserts that they had taken place 720,000 years before that epoch. But if we consider these 720,000 years as 720,000 days, and divide the whole by 365, we shall have 1972 years, and nearly eight months, as the quotient; and this sum differs only by sixty-eight years from that which Callisthenes had calculated upon to

mark the antiquity of these discoveries; and even this difference, small as it is, disappears, if we consider that the calculation of Callisthenes ends at the taking of Babylon by Alexander; while Epigenes, who lived under Ptolemy Philadelphus, brought his down to his own time.

Upon this calculation therefore, it is evident that the astronomical observations of Babylon do not reach higher than the year 2285 before Christ, which is much within the limits of the reckoning of the Septuagint, though much above the computation of the Hebrew text.

This is all very plausible and very conclusive; but M. Gibert continues his calculations and proofs to a greater extent. I shall give you one or two instances more.

Alexander Polyhistor, copying Berosus, asserts, that in Babylon they had preserved for 150,000 years, historical memoirs of what had happened during this long interval. This proposition at first sight, carries every possible mark of being a fable; because it is an historical fact, that Nabonassar, who lived about 410 or 411 years before Alexander, had destroyed every possible historical monument he could find. The assertion, therefore, of Alexander Polyhistor and Berosus, has been regarded as a proof of the extent to which some of the ancient historians had carried their fabulous recitals, and has been quoted by many learned writers, as one of the most conclusive arguments against the veracity of ancient annals.

But according to the theory of Gibert, if we consider these 150,000 years mentioned by Berosus to be as many days, and reduce them into our solar years, we shall have 410 years, eleven months, and fifteen days, which is precisely the period that elapsed between Nabonassar and Alexander. The utmost therefore, that can be urged against Berosus and Polyhistor is, that they are guilty of a puerile affectation unworthy of historians; unless it should be said, in extenuation of this affectation, that by so doing they flattered the vanity of the nation, by giving them a large apparent claim to antiquity, without however violating the strictness of truth.

In the same way, the 30,000 years which the Egyptians gave to the reign of the sun, under which appellation, according to the best critics, they symbolized Joseph, produce no more than 82 of our years, for which time, according to Scripture, the ministry of that patriarch lasted. The 1300 and more years, which some writers assert to have passed between Menes and Neithocris, are simply years of six months each, producing 650 Julian years, which the canon of the Theban kings, preserved by Erastosthenes, counts to have elapsed between these two reigns: and the 2936 years which Dicearcus assigns as the period intervening between Sesostris and the first Olympiad, are merely the computation of the several seasons; or, in other words, years of three months each, and which, in fact, produce the 734 Julian years which

the marble of Paros reckons to have elapsed from Danaus, the Egyptian Armaïs, brother of Sesostris, to the institution of the Olympic games.

The most curious calculation however, in the whole letter of M. Gibert, is the one which he makes to reduce the Chinese chronology to our mode of reckoning. By a series of detached facts, but closely connected with the chronology of the nation, he proves that the first astronomical observations made in China happened 150 years before the reign of the emperor Yao. Now according to the calculation of the celebrated Freret, this emperor lived 2145 years before Christ. If therefore, we add these two numbers together, we have the sum of 2295 years before Christ, as the epoch in which the Chinese made their first astronomical observations. But this epoch is nearly the same with the one we have just remarked of the same observations being made at Babylon; therefore the chronology of the Chinese and of the Babylonians, in regard at least to their astronomical observations, coincide amongst themselves, and by no means exceed the chronology of the sacred pages; they are nearly nine centuries distant from the flood, more than five hundred years after Nimrod, but not quite two centuries before Ninus and Abraham, and consequently, much posterior to the first establishment of the Egyptian monarchy under Misraim, the brother of Cush, who was the father of Nimrod; and this furnishes us with a new argument to prove, that, after all,

there is every reason to suppose that this proud nation of the Chinese are but a colony of the Egyptians, as I have already mentioned in a former Lecture.

Such are the observations which I thought it necessary to submit to your consideration in favour of the chronology adopted by the Septuagint, which completely establishes the antiquity of the Egyptian monuments. The arguments which I have employed have been mostly drawn from, or founded upon, the authority of our Holy Scriptures. They refer chiefly to the high degree of civilization and power which not only the Egyptians, but also the Chaldeans, the Babylonians, and the Assyrians, had acquired at the time of Abraham. This civilization, and this power, necessarily presuppose a numerous population; and the one, as well as the other, evidently shews, that at the time of this patriarch there must have existed other empires, equally powerful and equally populous. According to the Mosaic account, we have proved these empires to be the Babylonian and the Assyrian; the former founded by Nimrod; the latter by Ashur. Calculating therefore, on the chronology of the Hebrew text, what could possibly be the number of the human individuals in the world at the time of Nimrod, we found it so small and insignificant, as to establish at once the impossibility of building the city and tower of Babel, and much less to migrate, under different chiefs, in search of new settlements. Thus having esta-

blished the necessity of adopting the computation of the Septuagint, we were compelled to place the birth of Nimrod more than two hundred years later than the Hebrew text fixes the birth of Abraham. And again, having ascertained that Abraham was a contemporary of Ninus, and that between Nimrod and Ninus there reigned in Babylon three distinct dynasties, during the space of 657 years, the adding the 364 years that elapsed between the flood and Nimrod, to the 657 years which intervened between the same Nimrod and Ninus, we found that this Assyrian conqueror was born about the year 1021 ; he consequently, was a contemporary of Abraham, who according to the chronology of the Septuagint, was born in the year 1070 after the Flood.

By the same mode of reasoning we find the length of the Egyptian empire previous to Abraham ; for as Moses informs us that the Egyptian monarchy was founded by Mizraim, who was the son of Ham, and the brother of Cush, and consequently anterior to Nimrod, who was the son of Cush, it was evident that the foundation of the Egyptian monarchy must have preceded the age of Nimrod. But Nimrod was born in the year 334 after the Flood ; therefore Mizraim must have been born long before that period, and consequently, the foundation of the Egyptian monarchy must have taken place at latest about the time of the birth of Nimrod, and at least seven centuries and a half before the birth of Abraham. This

period is certainly sufficiently long to produce all the improvement, civilization, and power which the monuments and annals of Egypt so evidently prove, and which even the sacred pages testify. We have no need therefore, to be surprised at the great antiquity of some of the Egyptian monuments. The whole length of that empire, from its first foundation to Cleopatra, embraces a period of 2845 years, according to the computation of the Septuagint, and 4338 years according to the same computation recorded and explained by the Alphonsine tables.

On the other hand, if we follow the Hebrew chronology, besides the topics I have alluded to, we must admit impossibilities, and believe in one page what is contradicted in the next. We must admit that the Father of the Faithful, who is described as dying "*in a good old age, and an old man, and full of years,*" expired thirty-five years before Shem, who was born nearly a hundred years before the deluge, and nine generations before this son of Terah. We must believe him contemporary with Noah for more than half a century, and with Shem during his whole life; we must believe that Isaac was born only forty-two years after the death of Noah, and that he was contemporary with Shem for the period of 110 years; and as not the slightest mention is made of any intercourse between Abraham and those venerable patriarchs who survived the deluge, and

were miraculously preserved as the second progenitors of the human race, we are to conclude that this great reformer of religion wandered about from country to country, either ignorant of their existence, or regardless of their authority.

These, and other things worse than these, we must believe, by following the Hebrew computation ; whilst by adopting the chronology of the Septuagint, every thing is clear, every thing follows in proper order ; the age, the birth, the death of every patriarch is distinctly set down ; no objection, no confusion, no anachronism, no incongruity ; no violence is offered to the meaning of the sacred pages, no contradiction to profane history, there is no difference between the chronology of the sacred Scriptures, and the reckoning of most, if not all the Oriental nations.

I cannot conclude this Lecture without mentioning, for the benefit of those who wish to acquire a complete knowledge of this interesting subject, the title of the books which ought to be consulted ; they are,

Syncelli Chronographia.

Vossius on the Chronology of the Septuagint.

Gibert sur la Chronologie des Orientaux.

The Alphonsine Tables.

Freret's Dissertations on the Chronology of the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians.

Jackson's Chronological Antiquities.

Josephus's Jewish Antiquities ; and, above all, the

Preliminary Dissertation published by Dr. Russell at the head of his "Connection of Sacred and Profane History;" a book that I cannot sufficiently recommend, and from which I have derived the greatest assistance.

LECTURE XII.

Anaglyphs—Remarkable instance of one, exhibiting the figures of the Israelites, Hyk-shos, and Negroes—National sentiments of the Egyptians concerning these shepherds—Attempt at ascertaining their origin—Historical account from Manetho, Diodorus, Chæremon, Lysimachus, and Tacitus, analysed—Systems of the ancient and modern writers about the Hyk-shos, and the Israelites—Opinion of the Fathers and the primitive Christians confuted. Hypothesis of Mr. Bryant analysed.

OUR last Lecture turned upon chronology, and I thought it necessary to call your attention to so important a subject, as a preliminary step to the investigation of some of the most interesting events recorded in history. Amongst these stands pre-eminent the endeavour to ascertain the historical names of the kings who held the throne of Egypt at the time of Joseph and of Moses.

They are both designated in our Holy Scriptures by the general denomination of *Pharaoh*, which was a simple title of honour, as amongst us is the name of king, corresponding to the *Belus* of the Assyrians, and to the *Cæsar* of the Romans. But on the appellation by which these Pharaohs were known in history, Moses is entirely silent. To

ascertain therefore, this point, I am compelled to draw your attention to a particular sort of hieroglyphics, which I have often mentioned in former Lectures, under the name of anaglyphs.

This peculiar sort of hieroglyphics seems an enlargement of the use and meaning of symbolical hieroglyphics. They are emblematical signs, or fantastic figures, which represent not syllables or words, nor even real objects, but ideas, and even these are exhibited allegorically. They do not offer to our view scenes and objects belonging to public or private life, or to religious rites and ceremonies, but they seem, (and are, an extraordinary mixture of imaginary as well as real beings, which, without having the least similarity together, are nevertheless so united as to represent several ideas. These signs are not uncommon on Egyptian monuments, as you may easily ascertain by looking into the "description de l'Egypte," but fortunately they are not many. Horapollo has given the meaning of about forty of them, and they seem allegorically formed by the combination of several distinct qualifications, or attributes, belonging to different subjects.

I shall give you an example from the letter of Champollion to the duke of Blacas, in which this indefatigable scholar gives an account of the discoveries he has made in examining the inscriptions, statues, and mummies, existing in the Museum at Turin.

On a block of black granite, which represents a

throne, there are two royal personages, one male, and the other female, with a long inscription, by which it appears that the name of the Pharaoh was *Horus*, and the name of the woman was *Tmauhmot*, his daughter, who succeeded him in the kingdom. The purport of this inscription is precisely the same with that of the Rosetta stone in regard to Ptolemy, namely, to order that the image of Horus and his daughter should be placed in a distinguished part of the temple, on account of the great benefits they had bestowed upon Egypt, and the respect they had shewn towards the gods; mentioning the honours which they should receive, and the priests to whom such service should be intrusted. The legends containing the names and mystic titles of both the Pharaoh and his daughter, are as usual; included in an oval, and are like those of all other kings, a mixture of phonetic and symbolical signs.

On each side of this throne there is a curious basso relievo. The one on the side of the throne towards queen *Tmauhmot* presents a curious specimen of anaglyphs. [Table 11. fig. 1.] It consists of a female sphinx, of a peculiar sort; it has a human head, as usual, and it is sitting; but instead of a paw it has an arm, raised in the attitude of protection. From the shoulders of the animal issue two large wings, half unfolded, and its tail rises perpendicularly and falls almost in the same direction; with a large tassel at its end. On the head there is a round bonnet, peculiar to queens and goddesses, at the top of which there is a bunch

of flowers, rather elegantly arranged. On the ears of the monster hang large round rings, similar to those worn by other females painted on coffins or mummies, and round its neck there is a collar, the medallion of which, instead of falling on the breast, projects forward, and remains suspended in the air.

This most extraordinary figure, perfectly Egyptian, rests on a low basis, and has before its right hand an oval surmounted by the solar disk, standing in the middle of two enormous feathers. The interior of this oval contains six characters, altogether forming the name of Tmauhmot. The half-circle a T, the vulture an M, the chain an U, or an OU, the three sides of a square an M, the circle a T. The female figure is merely figurative and emblematical. And to conclude the whole, below the animal are thirteen plants, or rather flowers of lotus, arranged in two different lines.

This is a perfect anaglyph. The sphinx, we know, was the emblem of strength and wisdom, inasmuch as it consisted of the body of a lion with the head of a man, and consequently was symbolically used to represent some of the gods and goddesses, who are reasonably considered to possess these two attributes in an eminent degree. But on this occasion, the oval which exhibits the name of queen Tmauhmot evidently proves that we must look for the person, which this basso-relievo intends to honour, not amongst the celestial, but the terrestrial goddesses. This is not, indeed,

the first time in which the sovereigns of Egypt have been figured under the fantastic form of a sphinx, with or without wings. This exhibition therefore, must be considered as a symbolical image of queen *Tmauhmot* herself, and the flowers of lotus, which are evidently, though emblematically, taken for the Nile, and the whole country of Egypt, produce one of those anaglyphs, which, under appearances very often monstrous, contained the praises of the Egyptian monarchs. The signification therefore of the whole, seems to be, a monument raised to the memory of queen *Tmauhmot*, styled the *Guardian and Protectress of the land of Egypt, by her wisdom and strength*.

This however, is not the only inscription which renders this monument highly interesting; for on the side of the Pharaoh there is another basso relievo, representing four prisoners, having their arms and necks tied by ropes; but two of them turn their faces to the right, while the faces of the other two prisoners are turned to the left. The former have all the appearance of Negroes, and resemble in every possible respect those which Belzoni discovered in the Royal tomb at Thebes, and exhibited at the Egyptian Hall. But the two prisoners who have their faces turned to the left, are peculiarly attired: they both wear a long and thick beard, have a species of tippet, which, descending to the elbow, covers their breast; and one of them has on his head a bonnet of a curious construction, narrow at the top, but increasing its

dimensions as it descends on the neck, where it is very large ; and it is besides, fixed by a band, that resembles a diadem.

Now in looking over all the Egyptian monuments, in which prisoners, captives, and conquered enemies are introduced, we observe that the figures of these people, as well as the negroes, and another nation always painted in red, with blue eyes, and red hair, are constantly represented as the enemies of the primitive Pharaohs. These last people, with blue eyes and red hair, evidently more savage than the other two, are generally exhibited with long and dishevelled hair, and appear either dressed in the hide of an ox, still rough, which envelops them, or is simply tied round their waist ; in which case their legs and arms are very roughly *tattooed*. As I stated in a former Lecture, the Egyptian monuments never exhibit these people, (and particularly those with long beards and large tippets,) but in a state of captivity and subjection ; and often they are seen lying bound on the ground, serving as footstools to the throne of the Pharaohs ; an example which was followed also by the Egyptian people at large ; for they often wore the image of one of these savages in a state of bondage, under their sandals, so rivetted was the feeling of horror and contempt, in the bosom of the Egyptians, towards these strangers. There seems to be no doubt that these people are the Hyk-shos.

It is against them most particularly that the Pharaohs of the seventeenth dynasty, were perpe-

tually engaged, until they were finally expelled from Egypt by Mispkra-Thoutmosis. Every circumstance connected with the warlike exploits of this prince and his successors, is sculptured not only on the palaces at Karnac and Louqsor, but also in the magnificent excavations of Nubia. We are not however, to believe that these prisoners, engraved on the throne of king Horus, refer to any military expedition of that prince; for in the decree I have just mentioned we find not the least allusion to them in the enumeration of the benefits which he had conferred on his subjects, and of the deeds he had performed; but we must consider these representations as systematically adopted by all the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty, as the lineal descendants of Mispkra-Thoutmosis and Amenoftep, who, after many desperate battles, conquered these strangers.

According to the opinion of Mr. Bryant, of Sir John Marsham, and Mr. Faber, these Hyk-shos were, for some time at least, the masters of the Israelites, and to these barbarians we must look to ascertain the period of the reign, and consequently the historical name of the Pharaoh who opposed Moses, and was at last drowned in the Red Sea.

But before I proceed with my enquiry into this important point of the sacred as well as profane history, I will offer to your consideration all that the ancients have said of these Hyk-shos, and shall begin with Manetho, the most ancient of all. You remember he was a native of Sabenytyus, and a priest

of Isis, and that by the order of king Ptolemy Philadelphus, he wrote the history of Egypt from the most remote antiquity. You also remember, I hope, that this history is now lost, and that only a few fragments have reached us in the works of Julius Africanus, Josephus, Eusebius, and Syncellus ; and lastly you also recollect that Manetho compiled his history from the authentic memoirs and documents deposited in the archives of the temples entrusted to his care. All this appears from the original letter of Manetho to king Ptolemy, preserved by Syncellus.

Now in the answer which Josephus wrote against Apion, we find this remarkable passage from Manetho :

“ We had a king whose name was *Timaus*, and in his reign we fell, beyond all imagination, under the god’s heavy displeasure. There came flowing in upon us *a rugged robust people* out of the East, that made an inroad into the province ; and, there encamping, took it by force, and carried all before them, without any material resistance, putting our princes in chains, cruelly laying our cities in ashes, demolishing our temples, and miserably oppressing our inhabitants ; some they murdered, and others, with their wives and children, were sent away into bondage. After this they made one of their number to be king, and his name was *Salatis*.”

“ This new king advanced to Memphis, and having reduced both the upper and lower provinces to

the payment of a tribute, and put garrisons into all tenable places, he fortified to the eastward in a particular manner, for fear of an invasion from the Assyrians, whom he looked upon as stronger than themselves. He found in the nome, that is, the province or department of Saïtes, a city formerly called *Avaris*, which was situated, very conveniently for his purpose, to the east of the river *Bubastis*. This city he improved, repaired, and fortified with strong works and walls, and a body of two hundred and forty thousand men to cover it. Hither he was wont to resort in summer time, to measure out the corn which he received as a tribute, to pay his soldiers, and to train them to the use of arms, that he might strike terror into his foreign neighbours."

"*Salatis* died in the nineteenth year of his reign, and one *Bæon* succeeded him, who reigned forty-four years. After him came *Apachmas*, who governed thirty-six years and seven months. *Apo-chis* came next, and he ruled sixty years and one month; *Janias* fifty years and one month; and, last of all, came *Assis*, who reigned forty-nine years and two months. These six were the first kings; they were perpetually engaged in war, and they seemed bent on the design of utterly exterminating the Egyptians.

"These people were called *Huc-sos*, that is to say, *shepherd kings*, for *Huc* in the holy tongue means a *king*, and *sos* in the common dialect means a *shepherd*; so that *Huc-sos* is taken as a

compound. Some believe these people to have been Arabs."

“ When these kings, or shepherds, and their posterity had kept the government of Egypt for 511 years, the king of Thebes, and the remainder of Egypt that was not yet subjected, made a violent and obstinate war upon the shepherds, and routed them under the command of king *Alisphragmouthis*; and when the greatest part of them had been driven out of Egypt, the rest withdrew into *Avaris*, which comprehended ten thousand acres; and this the shepherds had enclosed with a strong wall, that secured all their provisions and plunder. Here they were besieged by *Thumosis*, son of *Alisphragmouthis*, with an army of 480,000 men; but despairing to reduce them by assault, he made a treaty with them to depart from Egypt without molestation, and retire whither they pleased. Upon these terms they marched away with all their families and goods, to the number of 240,000, by the way of the wilderness into Syria; and through the fear of the Assyrians, who were lords of Asia, they retired into a country now known by the name of Judæa, and built a city large enough to contain them all, and called it Jerusalem.”

So far Manetho, who however, still goes on with his story, by mentioning a succession of Egyptian princes, who reigned for the period of 393 years, that is, from the expulsion of the Shepherds to the time of Sethosis, or Egyptus, and the de-

parture of his brother Armaïs, or Danaus, for Greece.

After some interruption, Josephus gives another large extract from Manetho, and introduces to our acquaintance a new race of people *afflicted with leprosy*, amounting to the number of 80,000, and put to hard labour in the stone-quarries on the eastern side of the Nile, by the Pharaoh Amenophis, at the persuasion of a holy and learned priest of great authority amongst the Egyptians.

“ This wise heavenly man,” continues Manetho, “ in a horror of conscience for what he had done, and in the dread of a judicial vengeance from heaven, finding by a revelation that Divine justice, to balance the tyrannical oppression of these leprous people, had, in providence, appointed them the government of Egypt for thirteen years, and being afraid to tell it to the king, committed the inspiration to writing, and laid violent hands on himself, to the great terror of the king.”

I beg you will pay particular attention to this passage.

“ The king being now plied with petitions on the behalf of these miserable people, and particularly for some place of retreat, where they might live safe and easy, they pitched upon *Avaris*, formerly known by the name of *Typhon*, and the seat of the Shepherds. The prince granted them this boon, and they were no sooner settled in it, but finding it a commodious post for a rebellion, they listed themselves under *Osarsiph*, a priest of Heli-

opolis, and took an oath of fidelity to him in whatever he should command them, upon these preliminary conditions, that they should neither worship any of the Egyptian gods, nor abstain from any of the meats that they accounted holy, nor intermarry but with the people of their own opinion. When they had gone thus far in opposition to the Egyptians' interest and customs, the commander presently ordered the fortifying and walling in of the city, and the levying of war against Amenophis; and sent an embassy to the Shepherds at Jerusalem, whom king *Themosis* had expelled from Egypt, with instructions to the deputies to advise upon the common cause, and to invite them into a league against Egypt, with a promise to join in the confederacy, and receive them into *Avaris*, the seat of their ancestors, where they were sure they could want nothing; fight when they should find it convenient, and, with all the ease in the world, make themselves masters of the province. The Shepherds were transported with joy at this proposal, and immediately drew out to the number of 200,000, and marched to *Avaris*."

"Amenophis, upon the news of this invasion, was at his wit's end what to think of the prophetic paper the priest left behind him, and called a great council of the princes and people together, and sent away all the beasts that passed for sacred, with a strict order to the priests to keep all their idols as close as possible. He committed his son

Sethon, otherwise called *Ramesses*, after his father's name, *Rhampses*, a child of five years of age, to the care of a particular friend; and so marched away himself at the head of 300,000 fighting men, to encounter the enemy; but upon second thoughts, and a check of conscience, he turned short without fighting, and went to Memphis, where he and his people took shipping, and, with *Apis* and the rest of their gods, fled into Ethiopia. The king of the country gave them so generous a reception, that they wanted for nothing during the whole course of that fatal thirteen years' banishment."

"In the meantime, the *Jerusalem auxiliaries* made infinitely more ravage in Egypt than they who had called them; for there was nothing they stuck at, that was either inhuman or wicked, and the very spectacle of their impiety was a calamity not to be expressed. The razing, burning, and rifling of towns and villages was nothing to them; they sacrilegiously broke the images of the gods to pieces, most barbarously tearing the consecrated creatures that the Egyptians adored, limb from limb, forcing the priests and prophets to be themselves the executioners, and then turning them off naked."

"The founder of this polity was one *Osarsiph*, a priest of *Heliopolis*, so called from *Osiris*, a god that was worshipped there; and this priest changing his religion, changed his name also, and called himself *Moses*."

“*Amenophis* and his son *Rhampses* marched afterward out of Ethiopia with two great armies, encountered the *Shepherds* and the *lepers*, routed and had the chase of them, with a very great slaughter, to the borders of Syria.”

This is the account we have from Manetho, as it has been preserved and transmitted to us by Josephus.

In this account we are to consider several important points. The first, and perhaps the most deserving of attention, is the statement of two different and distinct incursions of the Shepherds into Egypt; the one when they were expelled from *Themosis*; the other when they were invited by the rebellious *lepers*, and ultimately driven out by *Amenophis* and his son *Ramesses*; but in both cases the city of *Avaris* had been the residence of these strangers.

The second striking circumstance is, the prophecy of the old priest, foretelling that these strangers were destined to rule over Egypt for the space of thirteen years; on which account king Amenophis retired into Ethiopia, and at the end of these thirteen years attacked, routed, and expelled them.

The third fact mentioned by Manetho is, that from the first expulsion of the Shepherds, under Themosis, to the reign of Sethosis, and the departure of Danaus for Argos, there reigned over Egypt sixteen kings, and two queens, the united period of whose government amounts to 348 years; and it further appears, that this Sethosis, son of Amenophis, was eighteen years old when

his father, returning from Ethiopia, attacked and routed the Shepherds. For the computation given by Josephus of 393 years is evidently a mistake; because, by summing up the reigns of all the intervening princes, according to the specification of them, the total is 348 years and seven months, and not 393. In the following Table I offer you their names, with the length of their respective reigns. I have also added to the names by which they are called by Josephus, the names by which they have been designated on the Egyptian monuments.

Order of Suc- cession.	According to the Monuments.	NAMES,		Length of their Reigns.	
		According to ancient Chronologists.		Yrs.	M.
1—	Amenoftep . .	Amosis, Thoutmosis, son of Mishra	Thoutmosis	30	7
2—	Thoutmosis I.	Chébron, his son		13	0
3—	Amon-Mai . .	Amenophis I.		20	7
4—	Amensè . . .	Amensè, his sister		21	9
5—	Thoutmosis II.	Miphrès, Miphra, Mæris, her son		12	9
6—	Amenophis I.	Miphra Thoutmosis, his son		25	10
7—	Thoutmosis III.	Thoutmosis, his son		9	8
8—	Amenophis II.	Amenophis II.		30	5
9—	Hor	Horus, his son		38	7
10—	Tmauhmot . .	Akencheres, his daughter		12	1
11—	Ramses I. . .	Rathotis, Athoris, her brother		9	0
12—	Ousirei	Achencheres, his son		12	5
13—	Mandouei . .	Achencheres, his brother		20	3
14—	Ramses II. . .	Armaïs, Armes, his son		4	1
15—	Ramses III. .	Ramesses, his son		1	4
16—	Ramses IV. Meïamoun }	Ramesses Meïamoun, his son		66	2
17—	Ramses V. . .	Amenophis Ramesses III., his son		19	6
				348	7

It may be also worth noting, that the number of 511 years, mentioned by Manetho, does not end at the first expulsion of the Hyk-shos by Mishragthoutmosis and his son, but at the time when they were expelled together with the Israelites. In other words, the entire duration of the dominion of these Shepherds, from first to last, is but 511, and they terminate not with their first, but their final expulsion; such indeed, is the mode in which the best chronologers have understood this passage of Manetho.

From this it follows, that their first expulsion took place at the end of 259 years and ten months, which are comprised within the length of the reigns of their six earliest princes, as they are mentioned by Josephus. Here I exhibit their names, and the extent of the time in which they held the sceptre of Egypt.

	Yrs.	Months.
1 Salatis reigned . . .	19	0
2 Bæon	44	0
3 Apachmas	36	7
4 APOCHIS, or Apophis	61	0
5 Janias	50	1
6 Assis, or Asseth . . .	49	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	259	10
	<hr/>	<hr/>

I have thought it necessary to make these remarks, because as there are other writers who make mention of the Shepherds, as well as the Israelites, it is very proper that your attention

should be called to those circumstances which may ultimately lead us to the discovery of the main object of our present inquiry. These authors may be reduced to four, and they are Chæremon, Lysimachus, Diodorus, and Tacitus. The account which the two former, Chæremon and Lysimachus, give, is recorded in a fragment preserved by Josephus, in answer to Apion; what Diodorus and Tacitus say of the Shepherds and the Jews, is to be found in their respective works. Chæremon is another Egyptian historian, and from his history Josephus quotes the following passage.

“ The goddess Isis appeared to king Amenophis, in a vision, and chid him severely for suffering her temple to be ruined in the war; and Phriphantes, a holy scribe, suggested it to the king, that if he would clear Egypt of all people labouring under foul and malignant distempers, he should never be troubled again with like apparitions. Upon this there was a call made of impotent and infirm wretches, and 250,000 of them were banished from the place, under the command of *Moses* and *Joseph*, two of the number, and holy men. *Moses*, in Egyptian, was called *Tisithes*, and *Joseph*, *Peteseeph*. They found at Pelusium 380,000 men, whom *Amenophis* had left there, refusing them a passage into Egypt. They struck a league, and joined in an expedition against the Egyptians; but *Amenophis* would not stand it, and withdrew into Ethiopia, leaving his wife pregnant behind him. She shifted up and down in caves, till she

was delivered of a male child, whom she called *Messenés*, who, growing up to man's estate, drove about 200,000 of the Jews into Syria, and brought back his father, Amenophis, from Ethiopia."

In this passage of Chæremon, we have some truths and some errors; we hear nothing of the Shepherds, but only of the Jews; and they are described as labouring under foul and malignant distempers. They rebel and attack the Egyptians, by the assistance of the army which Amenophis had left at Pelusium, and thus our historian differs from Manetho, who says, that they were assisted by the Shepherds, whom the Jews invited into Egypt. But from both it is clear, that the Jews had an auxiliary force to support them in their rebellion; and that, for some time, Amenophis would not act against them. The mistake of making Joseph a contemporary of Moses is too palpable to be mentioned; and of the same nature may be considered the situation of the wife of king Amenophis, the birth of *Messenés*, whom he mistakes for *Ramesses*, and the mode by which the Jews were driven into Syria.

From the same Josephus we have another not much dissimilar account, in a fragment of *Lysimachus*, another historian, who speaks of the Exodus of the Jews. The passage runs thus:

"While *Bocchoris* was king of Egypt, the nation of the Jews, being infected by an inveterate leprosy, fled to the temples and begged for food. Many dying by reason of the disorder, a great famine took

place. Upon this the king consulted the oracle of Ammon, and was charged to purge the land from all the unclean and impious race, by which both the land and the temples had been polluted, and to drown those that were ulcerated and leprous; for the sun itself had an horror for so abominable a sight; and this being done, the earth should bring forth fruit again, and nature return to her course. Bocchoris upon this calls his priests and his diviners, and, by their advice, orders the sick people to be sorted together and delivered up to the soldiers; the lepers and sick to be wrapped up in lead, and cast into the sea; and the others to be carried into the wilderness. The night now coming on, these poor people began to think what to do with themselves; so they kept a fast to reconcile themselves to the gods they had offended. On the day following, they elected Moses to be their leader, and after many hardships, came at last into a country that they now call Judæa."

Here again we have no mention made of the Shepherds, king Bocchoris is brought forward instead of Amenophis, and his son Sethosis, not a word of any auxiliary force coming to the assistance of the Israelites; not the slightest hint at any cruelty or wantonness exercised by them in the land of Egypt; but they are represented to be labouring under leprosy and disgusting diseases, to have departed from Egypt under the guidance of Moses, and to have gone into Judæa.

It scarcely need be remarked, that the fable

of drowning these lepers in the sea, while those who escaped fled into the wilderness, has plainly been taken from the destruction of Pharaoh and his army in the Arabian gulph, the punishment being ingeniously transferred, as Mr. Faber properly observes, from the oppressors to the oppressed.

The next historian who speaks of the Exodus of the Israelites, is Diodorus, in his *Bibliotheca*, and the account he gives of it is shortly this :

“ Formerly a pestilential disorder prevailed in Egypt, which most were willing to ascribe to the wrath of heaven. Hence the aboriginal inhabitants began to suspect that they should never be free from the malady until they expelled the aliens. Upon this the most noble and warlike of these foreigners, being compelled to leave the country, emigrated into Greece, under the command of several illustrious leaders, amongst whom Cadmus and Danaus are particularly celebrated. But another numerous division marched by land into Judæa. Of this colony one Moses was the leader, a man of great wisdom and fortitude.”

So far Diodorus, who however, goes on much in the same way as Lysimachus, to tell us something more of the manner in which the Jews treated the various people they met with in their route, &c. &c. &c. which certainly agrees with the account that Moses has left us.

In this passage of Diodorus, no king is mentioned, nor Shepherds; the pestilential disorder is

common to the Egyptians as well as the strangers; the Jews are represented setting off under the command of Moses: and the only striking circumstance is, that they leave Egypt at the same time in which Cadmus emigrates into Greece. Much of the same sort is the story related by Tacitus. The Jews, as usual, have a leprosy, and as a race hateful to the gods, are driven out of Egypt by Bocchoris. Moses persuades them to submit to him, as a leader sent from heaven, and they march into Judæa, drive out its former occupants, and build a city and a temple.

So far Tacitus, in every respect, agrees with Lysimachus; and the reason why I have quoted him is, that in the progress of his history he says, "That it was variously reported, that the Jews had come from Mount Ida, in Crete; that they emigrated from Egypt during the reign of Isis, under the command of Hierosolymus and Judas, and that they were generally esteemed descendants of the Ethiopians, whom fear and hatred had compelled to change their habitations."

From this last account, it is evident, that Tacitus mistakes or confounds what Diodorus has said of the other foreigners, who under Danaus emigrated into Greece, at the time that the Jews, under Moses, went into Syria; and very little reflection will shew us that Diodorus considers Ethiopia as the country of the Shepherds, as he evidently speaks of them when he mentions the other foreigners who went off with Danaus; for he

says that, " they had emigrated from Egypt, during the reign of Isis, under the command of Judas ;" and " that they were considered descendants of the Ethiopians." If then they came from Ethiopia, and left Egypt, they must have come into the country, and this coming is precisely the invasion of the Shepherds, mentioned by Manetho, during the reign of Timaus.

Such, with a few more additions, scarcely worth noting, is the account which the ancients have left us of the invasion and departure of the Hyk-shos, or Shepherds, from Egypt, as well as of the Exodus of the Israelites ; and before I venture to state my own opinion on the subject, I think it necessary to explain to you, in as short a way as I can, what are the most remarkable systems which have been framed upon the foregoing authorities, concerning the country of the Hyk-shos, and the time in which they left Egypt. These systems may be reduced principally to three ; the first, imagined by Josephus, Eusebius, and many of the primitive Christian writers ; the second, by Sir John Marsham and Mr. Bryant ; the third, by the venerable historian of " The Origin and Progress of Pagan Idolatry."

As to Jews and Christian writers, such as Josephus, Eusebius, Africanus, and others, their opinion is not worth confuting, though it may be proper to mention it ; because they all, wishing to enhance the antiquity of the Jewish nation, for the sake of answering the heathen writers, who attacked them

on all sides, have asserted that the Shepherds were the Israelites; and, to defend this untenable opinion, they have distorted facts, imagined events, added something of their own to the quotations of ancient writers, and passed over many circumstances, however important and well attested, that made against their system; they must, therefore, be dispatched all together with this general reflection: and if now and then I shall have occasion to quote from them, it will be only in those cases in which no facts, no authorities, no history militate against their assertions.

But it is not in this summary way that I can mention the theory imagined by Sir John Marsham and Mr. Bryant; for although the system of these learned writers may be considered in some points as liable to strong objections, it nevertheless contains much that is valuable, and capable of assisting us in the present inquiry.

Both these learned writers agree in confuting the absurd notion of Josephus, as evidently advanced to promote the honour of his country, that the invading Shepherds were the Israelites, and that what Manetho afterwards says of the real Israelites, has been by the historian of the Jewish antiquities, studiously thrown out of place, and disfigured. In no one particular, says Mr. Faber, do these two races of Shepherds agree, except in the single point of their pastoral character. The royal Shepherds invaded Egypt by force of arms, and amounted to the number of 240,000 persons;

the Israelites came peaceably into Egypt, to avoid the horrors of famine, and, at the time of their descent, were but a single family of seventy souls. The royal Shepherds reduced the whole land to servitude, and acted the part of relentless tyrants; the Israelites were themselves slaves, and were grievously oppressed by the governing power. The royal Shepherds were unwilling to leave the country, and retired not until they were fairly driven out by main force; the Israelites wished to depart, and were long prevented from withdrawing. The royal Shepherds founded Jerusalem; the Israelites occupied it long after it had been built. The royal Shepherds marched straight into Palestine; the Israelites wandered forty years in the wilderness. The royal Shepherds returned into Egypt, and were a second time expelled; the Israelites left the country but once, and never returned. In short, Manetho, and most of the ancient writers, specify two distinct races of Shepherds, one of which succeeded the other. The first conquered Egypt by force of arms, and occupied and fortified the district of *Avaris*, for their own protection; the second had a grant of Avaris, from a native Egyptian king after the first had left it.

Having thus disposed of the opinion of Josephus, and other writers who, like him, suppose the Israelites to have been the only shepherds that are mentioned by Manetho, Mr. Bryant proceeds to consider them separately. He very properly remarks, that the second race, who succeeded the first Shep-

herds in Avaris, are undoubtedly, the Israelites. For they are said to have abhorred the idolatry of the Egyptians, to have refused to worship their gods, and to have intermarried only among themselves. They are described as being compelled to undergo hard labour; they are placed in an evacuated district, on the eastern side of the Nile, just as the Israelites are placed in the land of Goshen, which is similarly situated. This seems to have been sufficiently established by M. Champollion, who, in his "Egypt sous les Pharaons," has placed the city of Ramesses, where, according to the Bible, Joseph settled his father and his brothers, on the eastern side of the Nile, quite close to Avaris; so that these two cities belonged to the same district, which might be called after the name of either of them. They are besides, represented as having for their leader a priest of Heliopolis, called *Osarsiph*, a name which Mr. Bryant interprets to be composed of two words, *Sar* and *Josiph*, that is, the *Lord Joseph*, who married the daughter of the priest of On, an appellation which has been rendered in Greek by Heliopolis, as both of them mean the *sun*. They are finally declared to have emigrated from Egypt into Syria, under the command of Moses, who has been confounded with *Osarsiph*, or *Joseph*.

Upon these considerations Mr. Bryant declares the second race of Shepherds to be the Israelites; and I do not think that the least shadow of doubt can be attached to this opinion; for even the dress

*Osarsiph of Sar-Lord
Joseph*

in which these Shepherds are exhibited on the Egyptian monuments, evidently shews them to have been the Israelites.

If then the second race of Shepherds were the Israelites, the next question is, who were the royal Shepherds, to whom Manetho gives the appellation of Hyk-shos, and who preceded the other shepherds in the land of Avaris. These Mr. Bryant supposes to have been the Cushim of Babylonia; and says, that the 511 years mentioned by Manetho must be considered as the whole period during which both Shepherds dwelt in Egypt, and which ends at the Exodus of Israel. Therefore by reckoning these 511 backward from the Exodus, we shall arrive at the sixth year before the birth of Abraham as the epoch of the first pastoral invasion, and he explains the whole transaction in the following manner.

In the days of Peleg, (says he,) an orderly division of the earth took place according to the regulations of Noah. You know that Peleg was the great-great-grandson of this Patriarch by Shem. For Shem begat Arphaxad, Arphaxad Salah, Salah Eber, and Eber Peleg; so that from Noah to Peleg we have, in fact, five generations. The Cushim, that is the children of Cush, the father of Nimrod, displeased with their allotment, marched off to the eastward of Armenia, whence, after a little time, they returned in a south-westerly direction, and arriving in the plain of Shinar began to build the tower of Babel. In this attempt, which was made

not long after the birth of Abraham, they were miraculously defeated; and from Babylonia they were scattered over the whole earth. One great branch of them marched straight to Egypt, then occupied by the Mizraim, who had peaceably retired, like the other children of Noah, to their appointed settlement, when the earth was regularly divided in the time of Peleg. At the period of this Cuthic irruption, the Mizraim, that is, the Egyptians, so called from Mizraim the son of Ham, and founder of their monarchy, were a barbarous and uncivilized people, devoted to the basest idolatry, associated together in no regular polity, and living like savages in the land they had occupied. As such they were easily subdued by the warlike and disciplined Shepherds, who constituted the *first* real dynasty of Egypt; for the other dynasties which are said to have preceded them must be rejected as altogether *fabulous*. The Cushim remained masters of the country for the space of 260 years, and they were driven out fifteen years before the arrival of Joseph, and thirty-six years before the descent of Israel. When the Shepherds were driven out they left the land of Avaris, or Goshen, vacant; and thus, in the course of God's Providence, they made room for the Israelites, who with their flocks and herds were immediately placed in the empty country. Here they remained and multiplied until "a new king arose who knew not Joseph." This new king was the first sovereign of a new Egyptian dynasty; who, as such, was unac-

quainted with the merits of that patriarch, and who felt no sense of obligation to his family. Jealous of the growing power of Israel, he attempted to break the strength of the people by the most iniquitous tyranny ; but his dynasty was at length compelled to grant a free egress to them ; and these second Shepherds retired from the country after an abode of 215 years. Then was completed the entire sum of 511 years, which Manetho specifies as the full period during which Egypt was occupied by the Shepherds.

Such is the system imagined by Mr. Bryant, and I have no doubt that you have already anticipated the many objections to which it is liable, which however, I will endeavour to state in as clear a light as I can, for the sake of proceeding with all the regularity which the subject requires.

In the first place, Mr. Bryant supposes that a division of the earth had already taken place among the children of Noah, previous to the building of Babel, and that this tower was not built by the united effort of all mankind, but by the children of Cush only.

In the second place, he fixes the building of this tower after the birth of Abraham. This indeed, is a necessary consequence of his theory, because having disposed of a large portion of time before this attempt, he is obliged to fix the origin of this monument at a period much later than it really was.

Now both these positions are erroneous ; for

the tower of Babel was built by the united efforts of *all* the children of Noah, and the dispersion of mankind took place *during* the life-time of Peleg. Now Peleg died more than three hundred years before the birth of Abraham. But this is not all.

Mr. Bryant supposes the Cushim to have gone from Babylon to Egypt (immediately after their failure at Babel,) where they found the family of Mizraim already in possession of the country; but as the dispersion from Babel was general, it is evident that both the Cushim and the Mizraim at the best must have occupied the country at the same time; and if the Cushim were the first, they must have found Egypt without inhabitants.

In the third place, Mr. Bryant asserts that at the time of the invasion the Egyptians were a barbarous and uncivilized people; which is not the case, for we saw, in our Lecture on Chronology, that at the time of Abraham, in which Mr. Bryant fixes the dispersion, Egypt was highly civilized, "powerful kingdoms were already established, great cities had been built, regular armies were maintained, mankind had already witnessed the pomps of courts and the luxury of individuals; Pharaoh appeared surrounded with his princes; Abimelech came attended with the captain of his host; the use of coined money was introduced, and Abraham himself was rich in gold and silver, in tents, flocks, and herds." [Page 374.] Now this is quite the reverse of Mr. Bryant's supposition, both in regard to the time in which the Egyptian

monarchy was founded, as well as to the high degree of civilization which the nation had attained.

In the fourth place, Mr. Bryant supposes that the Shepherds constituted the first real dynasty of Egyptian sovereigns, and rejects altogether as fabulous, all the other dynasties which are mentioned by all the historians who have written on the antiquities of Egypt. Now in my opinion this is going rather too far; and I see no earthly reason why Mr. Bryant should reject, in this respect, the joint testimony of those very writers whose authority he strongly depends upon on other points, except that on this topic they happen to contradict his hypothesis; for to a certain extent, even the monuments which have been decyphered by Champollion, have assisted that learned antiquarian to ascertain some of the names of the Pharaohs of the seventeenth dynasty, who lived during the time of the invasion of the Shepherds, and the number of years in which the sovereigns of the sixteenth dynasty held the throne of Egypt; and there is all possible probability for supposing that the prænomena, or mystic titles, of the Pharaohs, which fill the top line of the table of Abydos, belong to princes who were even anterior to them.

Such are the principal objections that may be urged against the hypothesis of Mr. Bryant, and which, in my opinion, render his system perfectly inadmissible. But, notwithstanding the necessity of rejecting his theory, there are, in what he says,

many points which deserve to be recorded, for they may help us much in the present inquiry.

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430-
In the first place, he states very properly, that the entire sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt amounted only to 215 years. This, at the first sight, may appear contradictory to the authority of the Bible; for in the twelfth chapter of Exodus, Moses repeats it twice, that "the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years." But if we take the trouble to inquire a little more attentively into this subject, we shall find that Mr. Bryant is right; for long before him the same opinion had been advanced and proved by many of the fathers, by the best commentators of the Bible, and the best chronographers, both ancient and modern. These 430 years, in fact, are to be reckoned, not from the time that the family of Jacob went into Egypt, but from the time in which Abraham first went into that country, or rather from the promise, which God made to him.

This evidently appears, from what God said to that patriarch in the fifteenth chapter of Genesis: "That his seed shall be a *stranger* in a land *that is not theirs*, and shall serve them, and shall afflict them *four hundred years*." He does not say *in the land of Egypt*, but *in a land that is not theirs*; and surely the Israelites were as much strangers in the land of Canaan, as they were in Egypt. In confirmation of this interpretation, the reading of the Septuagint version of the passage of Exodus may be adduced, in which Moses says, "And the sojourn-

ing of the children of Israel in Egypt and *in the land of Canaan*, they and their fathers, was *four hundred and thirty years*." The same thing may be collected from the third chapter of St. Paul to the Galatians, in which the Apostle computes the 430 years from the *promise* made to Abraham to the *publication of the law* by Moses. In fact, by casting up all the intermediate periods from this first visit of Abraham, to the departure of the Israelites under Moses, we shall find that 430 years had elapsed; for the account will run thus:

From the promise of God to Abraham,	
to the birth of Isaac, we have . . .	25 years.
From Isaac to the birth of Jacob . . .	60
From Jacob to the descent into Egypt.	130
From the descent to the Exodus . . .	215
<hr/>	
Altogether	430 years.

This is so true, that by adopting the opinion of the Israelites' subjection in Egypt for the whole period of 430 years, we find this computation contradicted by Moses himself; for by him we are informed, that the servitude of the Israelites began after Joseph's death, whose life extended to 110 years, seventy-one of which he lived after the descent of Israel, he being at that time forty years old. If then, we add these forty years to the 430, we shall have the sum of 470 as the total of the slavery of the children of Israel, which is not true.

But this is not all: we are told by Moses that Kohath, or Caath, a son of Levi, came down with Jacob into Egypt, and he lived 133 years. This Kohath was the Father of Amram, who lived 137 years, and was the father of Moses, who was eighty years old when he left Egypt at the head of the Israelites. Now if we sum up these three items together, we shall have the sum of 350 years; from which, if we deduct the age of Kohath when he came to Egypt, and the years which he and his son had counted before he begat Amram, and Amram Moses, we shall have exactly the sum of 215 years from the arrival of Kohath in Egypt to the Exodus; for according to Epiphanius, whose reasoning is much too long for this place, Kohath was sixty-five years old when he begat Amram, and Amram seventy when he begat Moses; therefore, if we add together the sixty-five years of Kohath, the seventy of Amram, and the eighty of Moses, we shall have the precise sum of 215 years from the descent of Israel to the Exodus.

From this reasoning therefore, it is evident that the expressions of Moses in Exodus, are not to be confined to Jacob alone, but to Isaac and Abraham also; and his 430 years comprehend not only the sojourning in Egypt, but also in Canaan and other places. This, in fact, as we have seen, is the manner in which the Septuagint records this passage of Moses; and this is also the manner in which St. Paul in his epistle to the Galatians, remarks on the passage. It has been, moreover, in the same

Kohath
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manner interpreted by St. Augustin, Eusebius, Josephus, Usher, Willet, in short, by the best and most approved chronologers and expositors of Scripture.

Perhaps, before I conclude, I may as well quote the opinion of Liranus, a celebrated interpreter, why Moses mentioned only Egypt, leaving out the other places in which the Israelites had been strangers, and which equally were "not theirs."

"First," says he, "the dwelling of the Israelites in Egypt was the last, and things generally take their denomination from the end. In the second place, the sojourning in Egypt was the longest; for Jacob dwelt in Mesopotamia only twenty years, and the other patriarchs at different times sojourned in Canaan; and though the sum total of all these dwellings may amount to a large period, yet they were made at different intervals, and each for a shorter time, while the dwelling of the Israelites in Egypt continued uninterrupted for the space of 215 years." And, last of all, adds he, "the sojourning in Egypt was the most famous, and by far the most celebrated; not only for the honourable situation of Joseph, but also for the extensive multiplication of the Israelites, and for the miracles which were wrought to obtain their deliverance."

Perhaps this very multiplication of the Israelites may be considered by some as a strong argument for supposing the length of 215 years of too short a duration, and establishing the necessity of adopting the whole period of 430 years mentioned by

Moses; but upon inquiry you will find this objection perfectly groundless; for during these 215 years, seven generations may easily have existed, allowing to each generation the usual length of thirty years. Now even supposing that only the ten children of Jacob, excepting Joseph and Levi, were married, and that from each marriage five sons were produced, we shall have, after the first

30 years	50 males in the first generation.
60	250 in the second.
90	1250 in the third.
120	6250 in the fourth.
150	31,250 in the fifth.
180	156,250 in the sixth.
210	781,250 in the seventh;

a number much exceeding that which is mentioned by Moses. And here you are to observe, that out of the twenty individuals who went with Jacob into Egypt, I have calculated only upon ten marriages. I have not included the children of Joseph, or the children of Levi, or the children of any other of Jacob's grandsons, who was actually married at the time.

Upon all these considerations, Mr. Bryant has a right to conclude, that the dwelling of the Israelites in Egypt did not exceed 215 years; and I have dwelt so long on some of the arguments which militate in favour of his opinion, to convince those of my hearers who perhaps for the first time hear of it, that this is actually the fact; a fact upon

which I have endeavoured to establish my reasoning in regard to the Pharaohs who held the throne of Egypt at the time of Joseph and of Moses.

I now return to Mr. Bryant.

Another remarkable observation he makes, affects the royal Shepherds as well as the Israelites, and consists in the mode in which he calculates the sojourning of both of them in Egypt. As according to Manetho, the first empire of the Hyk-shos lasted 260 years, and the servitude of the Israelites 215; by adding these two numbers together, we have the sum of 475 years. These being deducted from the 511 years, which constituted the entire period which elapsed from the first invasion, to the total expulsion of the Shepherds, we have a deficiency of thirty-six years; and this period must have elapsed between the first expulsion of these invaders by Thumosis, to the arrival of Israel.

Not less important in its results, though not quite so reasonable in regard to its origin, is the adoption of the old opinion, that the royal Shepherds were the Cushim of Babylonia. Mr. Bryant, in reviving this hypothesis, is perfectly correct in regard to the country from whence these strangers came, for such appears to me to be the fact; although, by the reasons which I have already stated, the mode for which he leads them to make the conquest of Egypt, appears to me utterly inadmissible. That the Shepherds belonged to the family of Cush, who had taken up their residence and built Babylon, is certainly true; but that they

came from Babylon to Egypt immediately after their defeat at Babel, is an opinion that, on every possible ground, cannot be defended for a moment.

Perhaps, before I have done with Mr. Bryant, I ought to mention the mode in which he explains the passage in the first chapter of Exodus, in which it is stated, "that a new king arose up over Egypt, who knew not Joseph." Mr. Bryant considers that these expressions specify the accession to the throne of Memphis of a new dynasty, who must have been strangers to the country; "otherwise," says he, "they could not be unacquainted with the benefits that Joseph had bestowed upon the distressed inhabitants, during the seven years of famine." We shall see, in our next Lecture, that this is also the opinion of Mr. Faber.

Such are the merits and the objections which must strike every intelligent reader, when he considers the hypothesis of Mr. Bryant. I have endeavoured to state them to you in the clearest way I could, because I considered it my duty, whilst endeavouring to explain the objections to which it is liable, to pay a proper tribute of respect to the extensive knowledge and indefatigable efforts of that learned gentleman, whose very name ought to carry conviction, if, in literary discussions, authority alone could enforce conviction. Although at all times I am ready to submit my opinions to those of the great writers who, like Mr. Bryant, are giants in literature; yet with all due deference to their talents and their knowledge, I shall never

shrink from what I consider to be my duty, as a public Lecturer, to state the judgment I have been led to form, upon due consideration, on all the circumstances of the case. And I do so with the less hesitation, because the great authority attached to the names of acknowledged scholars is apt to mislead the generality of readers ; because being prejudiced in their favour, on account of the deference they are inclined, and have been properly taught to pay to the opinions of such men, they very often adopt, as indisputable truths, sentiments, systems, and notions, which by no means deserve the flattering appellation.

LECTURE XIII.

Continuation of the same subject—Hypothesis of Mr. Faber in regard to the Exodus and the Hyk-shos analysed—General reflections—Historical monuments—Important facts—Attempt at explanation—Objections—Conclusion.

WE concluded our last Lecture with the criticism on the system imagined by Mr. Bryant, to solve the grand question, who were the Hyk-shos, or Shepherd kings, whence they came, and at what period they ruled over Egypt. As, according to the authority of Manetho and other ancient writers, the history of these invaders is closely connected with the eventful departure of the Israelites from Egypt, I endeavoured, in as full a way as I could, to put you in possession of what is known, or rather of what has been said about them by the most credible ancient authors. I quoted the fragment of Manetho, which has been preserved by Josephus, Chæremon, and Lysimachus; and I quoted also what Diodorus and Tacitus have written on the subject. I endeavoured to point out to you the most important points on which these several authors agree or disagree

among themselves, and proceeded afterwards to explain the different systems which have been formed to ascertain who were these Hyk-shos, or Shepherd kings, whose figures are so often met with either painted or engraved on many of the Egyptian monuments of high antiquity. I stated then that the fathers and the primitive Christian writers, for the sake of enhancing the antiquity of the Jewish nation, have strongly maintained the opinion, that these Shepherds were the Israelites; but I observed at the same time, that this opinion is inadmissible; for it does not only contradict the report of all historians, but also the undoubted authority of the Egyptian monuments; and I might also have added, which I lament I did not, the still more undoubted authority of the Bible. I passed then to examine the hypothesis of the learned historian of Ancient Mythology, of which I endeavoured to give you, to the best of my power, a detailed account; and pointed out both the merits it possessed, and the strong objections to which it was liable. We must now go on with our subject; and according to what I stated then, I must now endeavour to make you acquainted with another hypothesis, invented by a no less celebrated and venerable writer, I mean Mr. Faber; and what he says of the Hyk-shos, or Shepherd kings, may be reduced to the following account:

“We are informed by Manetho,” says Mr. Faber, “that while Egypt was in a state of profound tranquillity, a fierce and warlike race suddenly invaded

it, under the name of the *Shepherd kings*. These, during the reigns of six of their princes, which jointly amounted to 260 years, remained masters of the country, and governed it with the utmost tyranny. They were then besieged by the native Mizraim, in a walled district, denominated Avaris, and at length expelled. Upon this they retired into Palestine, and built Jerusalem. Shortly after their secession, the king of Egypt granted the land of Avaris, now unoccupied, to another race of Shepherds, whom circumstantial evidence demonstrates to have been the Israelites. Here these multiplied so rapidly, that they soon found themselves in a sufficiently flourishing condition to prepare for war with their sovereign. Desirous, however, of ensuring success, they called in the aid of the expelled Shepherd kings, and invited them to return and repossess themselves of Avaris. The invitation was accepted; the whole of Egypt was conquered by the allies; and its unfortunate prince was driven into the Thebais and Ethiopia."

In confirmation of this hypothesis, Mr. Faber observes, on the authority of Manetho, that "the *leprous Shepherds*, who were leagued with the Shepherd kings, are plainly the Israelites; hence," he concludes, that "they left Egypt at the same time which the Shepherd kings did, who must clearly have been their taskmasters; for, during the time of their servitude, the native Egyptians were either expelled or subjected; and like the children of Israel, they were employed in burning

bricks, and in building for their tyrants. But at the expiration of 215 years, the Israelites were miraculously brought out by Moses, notwithstanding the reluctance of *their oppressors*; therefore, these oppressors must have been the Shepherd kings. Hence the king and the host that perished in the Red Sea must have been the king and the host of these Shepherds, not of the native Egyptians; for these latter did not recover their independence until the Shepherds were *finally* expelled; and the Shepherds were not *finally* expelled until the day of the Exodus.

“ Their arm of strength being thus broken by the judgment which plunged beneath the waves their choicest warriors, the dispirited residue were attacked by the native Egyptians.” But Mr. Faber supposes, that although this was the end of the 511 years mentioned by Manetho for the *final* expulsion of the Shepherds; yet he seems to quibble upon the meaning of this word *final*, and takes it as “ the *last* in point of *succession*, but not the last in point of time;” for, says he, “ then *commenced* their *final* expulsion: but, as might naturally enough be supposed, this clearing the land of strangers was not effected in a single day,” and he assigns for this total clearing of the land a period of more than ninety years.

“ The work,” adds he, “ *began* with the recess of the Israelites;” but “ others of the Shepherds appear to have made a considerably protracted resistance.” To prove this assertion,

Mr. Faber admits the number of 260 years to have been the period of the first residence of the Shepherds in Egypt; "at the end of which period they were expelled from Avaris, as it is mentioned by Manetho." But he adds to these 260 years, 340 more, which elapsed, according to the same Manetho, from this first expulsion of the Shepherds, to the emigration of Danaus. Now these two sums put together make up a period of 600 years in round numbers. From these 600 years Mr. Faber then deducts the 511, which is the sum total of the domination of the Shepherds, and the residue is *ninety* years. These he supposes to have been all employed in the expulsion of the remaining part of the Shepherds, who remained behind after the first portion went off together with the Israelites. "I suppose," says he, "that the 511 years of pastoral domination expired when the strength of the Shepherds was broken in the Red Sea, and when the Israelites quitted the country; but that the work of their *complete* expulsion occupied an additional period of some *ninety* years; during the lapse of which this fragment 'of the Israelites,' and that fragment 'of the Shepherds,' were successively driven out, until the business closed with the recess of the Danai and the Cadmians."

This is Mr. Faber's hypothesis, which, as you may have already observed, may fairly be divided into two parts. The first ends at the expulsion of the Shepherds at the time of the Exodus; the second begins at the Exodus, and ends at the

departure or expulsion of Danaus. The first contains the period of 511 years ; the second of ninety ; and both together may be divided into the following smaller portions :

The first contains 260 years, during which the Shepherds, for the first time, held the dominion of Egypt, and were expelled by Thumosis.

The second consists only of fifteen years, which elapsed from the expulsion of these Shepherds and the arrival of Joseph.

The third embraces the period of twenty-one years, which, according to Moses, intervened between the arrival of Joseph and the descent of Israel. These two periods make up thirty-six years, and during them the land of Avaris was perfectly unoccupied, and was therefore granted to the Israelites.

From this moment begins the fourth period of 215 years, which embraces the whole sojourning of that people in Egypt, and ends at the Exodus ; so that these four periods together make up exactly the sum of 511 years mentioned by Manetho, specifying the whole time of the residence of the Shepherds.

With the fifth period of *ninety* years that elapsed from the Exodus to Cadmus, we have nothing to do ; for our inquiry is not so much to ascertain who Cadmus was, but who the Shepherds were, and at what time they left Egypt. Mr. Faber has embraced this period in his hypothesis, because he wishes to make Cadmus and his followers ap-

pear to have belonged to the Shepherds' cast; but if, according to Manetho, Cadmus was Armaïs, brother of the Pharaoh Sethosis, I cannot possibly see how he could have been a leader of the Shepherds, especially as it does not appear from any historian I know, that any of the Shepherds lingered behind after their final expulsion at the Exodus. On the contrary, it seems to me that at that period the Shepherds were fully driven out, and never more returned to Egypt until Cambyzes. I mention Cambyzes because, according to Mr. Faber's theory, the Persians must have belonged to the same family of Cush.

Be this as it may, as Mr. Faber's opinion agrees, in many respects, with that which I had formed even before I became acquainted with his valuable work on the Origin of Idolatry; and as some of the arguments on which I have grounded this opinion are the same with those he has advanced in support of his own, I think it necessary to state them, because, by so doing, you will be better able to judge of the merits of Mr. Faber's hypothesis, and understand more clearly the alterations I have made.

The strongest arguments made use of by Mr. Faber are undoubtedly those which he has derived from Scripture. We know from Moses the important services which Joseph had rendered to Egypt, and the high favour that on his account the Israelites enjoyed even after his death. During this time, in the language of Moses, "they were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied,

and waxed exceedingly mighty, and the land was filled with them." But after this period of happiness, according to the same sacred authority, "there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph." This king both Mr. Faber and Mr. Bryant say, from the very circumstance of not knowing Joseph, must have been a stranger; for it would have been impossible for a native Egyptian sovereign not to have known the eminent services of Joseph, which increased to so great an extent the power of the Pharaohs. He is evidently the head of a new dynasty; the leader of those Shepherds who, Manetho says, had been invited by the leprous Shepherds who had succeeded them in Avaris, when they began to meditate revolutionary projects. As a stranger and a conqueror, he must have been aware that as soon as his tyrannical yoke was felt by the people, the Israelites would again join their old friends the Egyptians; and this formidable addition to the forces of the Pharaoh might produce a revolution against which it would be impossible for him to make a stand. In this situation, as it is related by Moses, he said unto his people, "Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land."

This speech evidently shews this new king to be a foreigner; for however rapid the multiplication

of the Israelites might have been, it is impossible that they, at any time, could have exceeded the native Egyptians; for even when they left Egypt, more than a century after, they were only 600,000 men on foot. At the time of which we are now speaking, their number must have been infinitely less, and by no means such as to allow the sovereign to say that they were "*more and mightier than we.*"

But while our sacred Scriptures detail the persecution of the Israelites, profane history records the sufferings of the conquered Egyptians. We know from Manetho and from Herodotus, that these Shepherds shut up the temples, persecuted the priests, murdered the men, reduced the women and children to the most abject slavery, and the wretched inhabitants that had escaped from the sword were compelled to hew stones in the quarries, drag them to the Nile, and float them down that river in proper vessels. It is on record, that ten years were spent, by the united labour of 100,000 men, in making the very road over which the stones were to be conveyed. Just as we are informed, from the sacred pages, that the Israelites were equally condemned to build cities for their merciless conqueror.

Perhaps, by way of a parenthesis, it might be mentioned, that amongst the buildings which the Israelites were compelled to raise, by the command of their oppressors, Herodotus mentions the Pyramids, an opinion which has also been adopted by Josephus and other celebrated writers. Amongst

the different arguments which they adduce to prove this assertion, they quote the authority of sacred as well as profane history, from which it appears that the diet of the workmen consisted of onions and garlic, a sort of food from which, as they say, every Egyptian most religiously abstained. M. Zoëga, however, thinks quite differently ; and considers onions and garlic to have formed a part of the common food of the lower order of the people in Egypt.

Be this as it may, this is not the only point in which a striking similarity appears to have existed between the condition of the Israelites and their fellow-slaves the Egyptians.

Herodotus, as we have seen, mentions, that the diet of the toiling Egyptians consisted of radishes, onions, and garlic ; and Moses relates that the diet of the toiling Israelites equally consisted of cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions, and garlic. According to Herodotus, the Egyptians were condemned to toil as builders ; according to Moses, the Israelites were compelled to perform the same work. According to Herodotus and Manetho, the tyranny of these merciless Shepherds had been foretold by an oracle ; and according to Moses, the slavery of the Israelites had been revealed to Abraham by an immediate communication from God.

To these great points of similarity we may add another, which chronology offers us. According to Manetho, the second tyranny of the Shepherds lasted 115, and according to Herodotus 106 years ;

now according to Moses, the slavery of the Israelites could not have lasted longer.

This calculation is correct : Manetho mentions 511 years as the entire dominion of the Shepherds in Egypt, from their first irruption to the Exodus ; and the duration of that first irruption was 260 years. Now deducting these 260 years from the 511, we shall have the sum of 251 years. Fifteen years after their expulsion, Joseph comes into Egypt, and 21 years after Israel also comes ; these two periods make up 36 years, which, being deducted from the 251 years, leave the residue of 215 years, from the descent of Israel to the Exodus. Of these 215 years we must allow at least full 100 years before the Israelites became so numerous as to excite the jealousy of their tyrants ; and deducting this period from 215, we shall have either the 115 years mentioned by Manetho, or the 106 years recorded by Herodotus and Eusebius, during which the Egyptians groaned under the tyranny of their oppressors.

That this was the fact is evident from what Moses says in the book of Exodus. He was eighty years old when he demanded the liberation of his people, and Aaron three years his senior ; this makes eighty-three years. At that time the persecution was at its height, and had begun some time before. But when Moses was exposed his sister Miriam must have been a young woman, for she is made to watch the bulrush ark of her infant brother. Suppose she was seventeen or eighteen ; therefore

summing up all these portions of time, it is plain that the oppression, which continued till the day of the Exodus, must have continued, in the whole, some few years more than a century.

Now if we put all these matters together, Mr. Faber observes, we must come to the conclusion, that the Shepherd invaders, and not the Pharaohs, were the oppressors of the Israelites: that their leader was the new king, who knew not Joseph; that it was he who persecuted both the Israelites and the Egyptians.

This supposition alone, adds the same writer, can explain an apparent contradiction in two passages of Deuteronomy xxiii. The first is contained in the 3d, 4th, and 6th verses. "An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord, even to their tenth generation shall they not enter into the congregation of the Lord for ever." And in the 6th verse, "Thou shalt not seek their peace nor their prosperity all thy days for ever."

If we inquire into the cause of so much and eternal hatred, we find it assigned in the 4th verse. "Because they met you not with bread and with water in the way when ye came forth out of Egypt, and because they hired Balaam, the son of Beor, of Pethor in Mesopotamia, to curse thee."

Now according to this command, an Ammonite or Moabite was to be abominated for ever, because they had ill-treated the Israelites, and had attempted to persuade Balaam to curse them. I say

attempted, because the curse did not take place; as Balaam, instead of cursing, blessed them. But still the very wish of having them cursed was a sufficient reason for abominating an Ammonite or a Moabite for ever.

But if we turn to the 8th verse, we find the following command; "Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian, because thou wast a stranger in his land. The children that are begotten of them shall enter into the congregation of the Lord in their third generation."

If we consider attentively this passage, we cannot but be struck with the contradiction it contains in regard to the Moabites and the Ammonites; for these two nations are cursed for ever, because they had ill-treated the Israelites; while the Egyptians, who had ill-treated them a thousand times more, who had heaped upon them oppression over oppression, after a certain period were to be cherished like brothers. But let history speak, and be rightly explained, and every contradiction vanishes. Under an imperfect dispensation, which required an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, the injuries of Moab and Ammon were never to be forgotten; while on the other hand the fostering friendship of the ever kind Egyptians was eternally to be remembered and requited.

If then, the Hyk-shos were a nation different from the Israelites, and if they were expelled at the Exodus, the next question will be about the time at which this event took place. On this head

we have three different computations, the Hebrew text, the Samaritan, and the Septuagint; and I hope you remember what was said about them in our Lecture on Chronology, and the reasons which have persuaded the best chronologists to adopt the computation of the Septuagint. Mr. Faber however, prefers the chronology of the Samaritan text; and calculates the Exodus of the Israelites to have happened about the year 1591. But with all possible deference to the judgment and superior acquirements of the learned gentleman, I must beg leave to differ from him. For the sake of refreshing your memory, I shall simply repeat, that, according to the Hebrew text, Abraham was born 292 years after the Flood, and consequently 2056 B.C. According to the Samaritan Pentateuch, he was born 942 years after the Flood, and consequently 1994 B.C.; while according to the Septuagint version this same Patriarch was born 1072 years after the Flood, and consequently 2686 years B.C.

Therefore, according to the Hebrew text, the Exodus took place in the year 805 after the Flood, and 1543 B.C.; according to the Samaritan Pentateuch, in the year 1455 after the Flood, and 1481 years B.C.; and according to the Septuagint, 1585 years after the Flood, and 2173 years B.C. From this it follows, that according to the Hebrew text, the first irruption of the Hyk-shos must have taken place 294 years after the Flood; according to the Samaritan Pentateuch 1992 years B.C.; and according to the Septuagint at least 1074 years after the Flood, or 2684 years B.C.

Of these three computations I shewed you, in our Lecture on Chronology, that the Septuagint reckoning is the most reasonable, and most generally followed by the best chronologists and historians, both Heathen and Christians; and indeed it was the only one known up to the beginning of the second century of our era.

Having, therefore, established that the year 2173 B.C. is the year of the Exodus, I will endeavour to find out, if possible, who was the Pharaoh that reigned at the time of the Exodus, and perished in the Red Sea, and who was the Pharaoh who received Joseph, and a few years after Israel and his children. This, after all, must be, as it is, a question of chronology, and therefore you must not be surprised at finding a difference of opinion that is quite appalling. One thing, however, may be assigned as certain, and that is, that the final expulsion of the Shepherds, and the deliverance of the Israelites, must absolutely have taken place during the reign of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty. This conclusion is evident from what has been said, because, as the whole tyranny of the Shepherd kings, from first to last, continued for 511 years, when they were finally expelled at the Exodus,—as the first irruption of the Shepherds happened under the reign of the Pharaoh Timäus, the last sovereign of the sixteenth dynasty,—as they continued to hold the sceptre of Egypt during the whole of the seventeenth dynasty, for the space of 260 years,—as they, at the end of this period were driven out by Thoutmosis, who was the chief of

the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty,—and as the princes of this eighteenth dynasty reigned over Egypt for 348 years, it is evident that the remaining 251 years must have expired during some of the reigns of this dynasty. If we can therefore ascertain the exact date of any one of these events, we shall be able with ease to fix the chronology of the rest; for in the sum total sacred as well as profane history coincide. In fact, we know upon the authority of the sacred pages, that the Israelites left Egypt after the lapse of 430 years, and that this period is to be reckoned backward to the time of Abraham, when that Patriarch had the communication from God that his “seed should continue a stranger in a land which was not theirs” for that space of time. We also know that he was at that time 85 years old. If therefore, we add these two periods together, we have the total of 515 years, which differs from Manetho’s account only by six years; and which probably may be the six years of the reign of Timäus, at the end of which he was put to death by the ruthless Shepherds. Therefore, whether we take the birth of Abraham as the point of our calculation, or whether we assume any of the other events which happened from the birth of this patriarch to the Exodus, or whether we follow the recital of Manetho, the result of our reckoning must necessarily be the same.

The only plan therefore, we are to pursue, is to ascertain, first, the succession of the Pharaohs, who reigned during the eighteenth dynasty, and

this we have done in our last Lecture, page 424 ; secondly, the length of each reign, which was at that time equally specified ; it remains, therefore, now to fix, if possible, the date when any one of them began to reign.

Mr. Faber, who follows the chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch, fixes the first irruption of the Shepherds at six years before the birth of Abraham, that is, 300 years after the Dispersion ; but, according to this computation, Abraham was born 942 years after the Flood ; therefore, according to Mr. Faber, the Shepherds first entered Egypt 936 years after the Flood, and, consequently, about 2000 years before Christ. But we know, that the first dwelling of the Shepherds in Egypt was for 260 years ; therefore, their first expulsion happened 1196 years after the Flood ; and, therefore, 1740 before Christ. We also know, that they were expelled by Thoutmosis, the chief of the eighteenth dynasty, and that from this expulsion to the Exodus, when they were again finally expelled, elapsed 250 years. Now by computing these 250 years through all the sovereigns who reigned in Egypt, we find that they terminate at the end of the reign of the Pharaoh Mandouei, the thirteenth king of that dynasty ; therefore, according to the reckoning of Mr. Faber, the Exodus happened at the very end of the reign of Mandouei, 1490 years B.C.

The same result, in regard to this Pharaoh, we must have, whether we follow the chronology of

the Hebrew text, or of the Septuagint; because, as we must in either case calculate 251 years downwards through the reigns of the several princes who succeeded Thoutmosis, we must always terminate our reckonings at the death of Mandou-ei. The only difference will be, that, according to the Septuagint, this event took place 1605 years after the Flood, and 2271 years B.C.; while, following the Hebrew text, this same event happened only 797 years after the Flood, and about 1483 B.C. But they all do and must agree that it took place at the death of the Pharaoh Mandou-ei.

Against this supposition the authority of Syncellus may be adduced, who positively says that the Exodus of the Israelites took place during the reign of Misphragmuthosis, whom he describes as the twelfth Pharaoh after Concharis, or Timaus. Now as he reckons amongst these twelve princes the six Shepherd kings, it is evident that, according to his calculation, the Pharaoh Misphragmuthosis he alludes to, is the sixth sovereign of the eighteenth dynasty, who was also called Amenophis I. [page 424]. But this is evidently an error; for he quotes in favour of his opinion the authority of Manetho. Now we have seen that, according to that historian, we must reckon 251 years from the first expulsion of the Shepherds, by Thumosis, to the Exodus, and the reign of Misphragmuthosis, as it is mentioned by Syncellus, scarcely gives 120 years, and therefore he cannot possibly be the Pharaoh mentioned by Moses. The reason why Syncellus commits this

mistake, is the consequence of an assertion which he had made a little before, that the twenty-second king of Egypt, whom he calls *Ramessemeno*, was the first Pharaoh mentioned by Scripture, in whose time Abraham visited Egypt; he was therefore driven by necessity to pitch upon Misphragmuthosis, as the Pharaoh who reigned at the Exodus, because at his time, according to his genealogy of the Egyptian sovereigns, terminate the 430 years recorded by Moses, since the communication made by God to Abraham.

Another argument may be adduced to prove this mistake of Syncellus. He says in another place, that Joseph, after thirteen years slavery in Egypt, at the age of thirty, was raised by the Pharaoh Aphophis to be the governor of Egypt. In looking over the list of the Pharaohs that he himself mentions, the name of this Pharaoh Aphophis appears as the fourth sovereign of the Shepherd kings; by summing up the years of his reign with those of his two successors, we have the sum of 140 years, and this calculation alone proves the mistake of Syncellus; for the period that intervenes between the expulsion of the Shepherds and the appointment of Joseph, cannot possibly be more than twenty-one or twenty-two years.

If you indulge me with a little attention, I will make it clear to you. We know that the first dwelling of the Shepherds in that country lasted 260, and that the whole sojourning of the Israelites was 215, years. These two periods joined toge-

ther, make up the sum of 475 ; therefore, to complete the 511 years mentioned by Manetho, we want 36 ; this is the medial space that intervenes between the first expulsion of the Shepherds and the arrival of Jacob ; and these thirty-six years may be thus divided.

From Genesis xxxvii. 2. we learn, that Joseph was sold when he was seventeen years old, and was full thirty when he stood before Pharaoh. He had been, therefore, thirteen years in Egypt. Then commenced the seven years of plenty ; and in the second year of famine, when five years of famine were yet unexpired, Jacob and his family emigrated into Egypt, Genesis xli. Hence, at the period of the emigration, Joseph had resided twenty-one years in Egypt. But if we deduct these twenty-one years from thirty-six, we shall have the residue of fifteen years ; and this is the period that elapsed between the expulsion of the Shepherds and the selling of Joseph by the Midianites to Potiphar. Now we know that these thirty-six years must begin from the conquest of Egypt made by the Pharaoh Thumosis. We also know that his reign, from first to last, continued for thirty years, [page 424], some of which must necessarily have been employed in the war with these Shepherds ; therefore, these thirty-six years must expire, either under the reign of Chebron, son of Thumosis, or in the reign of his successor, Amenophis ; and we shall see that this last is the Pharaoh.

From the first expulsion of the Shepherds from Avaris by Thumosis, to their finally leaving the country, elapsed a period of 251 years. By summing up the reigns of the successors of this prince, we find these 251 years terminate at the death of the Pharaoh Mandouei, the thirteenth sovereign of the eighteenth dynasty. But Thumosis employed seven or eight years at least before he could expel the Shepherds, and the arrival of Jacob took place thirty-six years after; by joining these two items together, we have the sum of forty-four or forty-three years, if not more. Now the united reigns of Thumosis, and his son Chebron, amount to forty-three years only; therefore, the Pharaoh who gave to Joseph the government of Egypt, must have been Amenophis, the successor of Chebron, whose name, perhaps by a mistake of orthography, was changed into that of Aphophis, and whose reign continued for twenty years. From what has been said, I think I may conclude, that the Pharaoh Mandouei was the Pharaoh who occupied the throne of Egypt at the time of the Exodus, and that the Pharaoh Amenophis I. was the prince who protected Joseph.

This hypothesis I shall endeavour to establish still more by the following considerations, and historical facts.

On all Egyptian monuments which record the victories of the different Pharaohs over the enemies of their country, we always distinguish three several and distinct sets of people, and they are the

negroes, whose appearance, says M. Champollion, can never be mistaken, for they appear in the same costume, in which the negroes are invariably painted on the royal monuments of Thebes, discovered by Belzoni. Joined to these, there is another set of people, invariably represented with red hair, and blue eyes, wearing round their bodies ox-hides, still rough and untanned, while their arms and legs are tatoored. These barbarians, M. Champollion very properly remarks, are the celebrated Shepherds, the Hyk-shos, who, issuing from Asia, conquered and ruined Egypt, till the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty put an end to their depredations.

Besides these two nations, a third set of people is to be met with, on almost all the Egyptian monuments, represented with long and thick beards, sometimes having their heads uncovered, at other times wearing a species of bonnet, very large towards the neck, but fastened at the top by a circle, or diadem. They have also a sort of tippet, which descends to their elbows, and covers the whole bust. These, like the two nations above mentioned, are very often to be met with on the Egyptian monuments raised to the memory of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty, and this circumstance alone justifies the supposition, which their dress and manner must certainly suggest, of their being the Israelites, the people who, next to the Shepherds, brought desolation and ruin over Egypt, and whose images, like those of the Hyk-shos and the negroes, are never represented but

in a state of dejection, bondage, or captivity. In the beautiful collection of prints published by the "Commission d'Egypt," and even in those attached to the travels of Caillaud, there are many, exhibiting them all prostrated and in chains, on the footstools of the throne of the Pharaohs; some of them are to be seen amongst the ruins at *Sourien-Taoua*, in Nubia, a monument which bears a great deal of similarity to the Memnonium; and the figures are engraved round the lower part of the columns which supported and adorned the temple, just as Champollion mentions, in his first letter to the Duke de Blacas, that he had observed round the monument of the Pharaoh Horus, in the Museum of Turin. Indeed, we have seen, in a former Lecture, that such was the detestation which the whole nation felt towards these individuals, that amongst the several collections of Egyptian relics, very often we meet with shoes, painted underneath with the figures of prisoners belonging to each of the three above-mentioned people. Of these specimens there are several in the different cabinets of the learned; and M. Caillaud, from all accounts, possesses, perhaps, the most curious.

It might be said, that if the Shepherds, and not the Egyptians, were the oppressors of the Israelites, and if, according to the opinion of Mr. Faber, the army of the former, and not of the latter, perished in the Red Sea; in short, if the Egyptians were as cruelly treated by the Shepherds as the Israelites, why should the Egyptians

shew so much detestation for the Israelites, who, after all, were the descendants and relations of Joseph, of that very man who had conferred so much benefit on their land, and whose memory could never be forgotten? To this objection it may be answered that, according to the relation of Manetho, the Israelites had called to their aid the Hyk-shos, and the hardships which the Egyptians underwent, during the time of their dwelling in their land, were a strong and a sufficient reason to make them share in the hatred which the Egyptians felt for these destroyers of their country, even if there had been no previous cause for detesting them, which is not the case. For, in this respect, the same story is told both by the Holy Bible and Manetho. According to this historian, you remember, I hope, that the Shepherds held the throne of Memphis, and for some time at least rendered tributaries even the Pharaohs, who reigned at Thebes, from the death of Timaus to their leaving the country, by the victories of Thumosis, that is, for the space of 260 years. During this time the Shepherds practised every species of cruelty and abomination throughout the land, and their behaviour certainly must have inspired the natives with sentiments and feelings of horror and detestation towards these barbarians. Now the same fact is recorded by our sacred Scripture. At the time of the descent of Israel into Egypt, we are informed in the book of Genesis, that Joseph instructed his brethren how they should answer Pharaoh. "And

it shall come to pass, when Pharaoh shall call you, and shall say, what is your occupation? that you shall say, thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we and also our fathers: that you may dwell in the land of Goshen; *for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians.*"

If then the Egyptians felt such a dislike to the very trade of a shepherd, as to require some management on the part of Joseph, notwithstanding his great power at the court of Pharaoh, to obtain for his father and brothers the land of Goshen, it is clear that this feeling must have had an origin and a cause; and Manetho tells us, that this cause was the tyrannical treatment which the Egyptians had received at the hands of the Shepherds.

I see, therefore, according to the relation of Manetho, not the slightest reason why the Israelites, who had called the Shepherds to their aid, should not be equally detested as their allies; for these allies were the sworn enemies of the Egyptians, the mockers of their religion, and the destroyers of their land.

But again, it may be insisted upon, that the figures of the people whom we take to be the Israelites, may, after all, represent the Assyrians, the Persians, or any other warlike nation who had attacked Egypt, for the costume of these prisoners, as far as we know, may belong to any one of these nations, whose mode of worship was as different

as that of the Israelites from the religion of the Egyptians. Their representing the Israelites, therefore, is but a supposition; for, amongst the several inscriptions found on the different temples throughout Egypt, there is no monument which records their departure, or even their dwelling in the land.

To this objection it may be answered, that although we have no monument or inscription which records the sojourning and departure of the Israelites from Egypt, these facts are mentioned with a great deal of precision and minuteness by Manetho, whose account explains many passages of the Bible, of which no one can otherwise see the reason; and that historian, by fixing the date of the first and second irruption of the Shepherds, when they came to the assistance of the Israelites does in fact empower us to suppose that the images of the prisoners whom we take to be the descendants of Jacob, were in fact the representations of these people; because the monuments on which they appear are unquestionably the production of times much posterior to the first years of the descent of Israel.

To this powerful reason it may be added, that the monuments which we have as yet derived from Egypt are, comparatively speaking, so few, as to prevent us from asserting with certainty that there are not others from which the information required may be obtained. The difficulties which European travellers have encountered in their attempts to col-

lect the little they have discovered, are well known to those who have perused their journals; and the national jealousy which most if not all of them felt against the success of others who were not their countrymen, has been, perhaps, the greatest and most humiliating feature in this distressing picture. It was the principal cause of the failure of the indefatigable Belzoni; of the delay which Dr. Young experienced in obtaining a copy of the inscription found at Menouf; and of the trouble which most travellers have been obliged to take, and of which they most bitterly complain.

The absence therefore of historical monuments which commemorate any of the events attached to the sojourning and departure of the Israelites from Egypt, can never be considered as a conclusive evidence of their non-existence. They may still make their appearance, and the indefatigable and well-directed exertions of M. Champollion, who is now on the spot, at the head of two commissions expressly sent to dig, collect, and acquire any and every valuable remains of Egyptian antiquities, make me hope that the epoch is not far distant when the full knowledge of every thing connected with the history and customs of the old Egyptians will no longer be withheld from our scholars. Some valuable information has been already obtained from the collections which the several travellers have made. That of M. Caillaud possesses some curious specimens of almost

every article of dress, several of furniture, different utensils, cloth, musical instruments, and strings, combs, looking-glasses, baskets, and what perhaps will surprise you to hear, as much as it surprised me to learn, is, that the custom of wearing wigs and false hair was by no means uncommon amongst the Egyptians.

But we must return to our subject, and try whether, amongst the monuments and inscriptions we have, we can find any that have some reference to the Israelites and the Hyk-shos.

Amongst the Egyptian antiquities existing in the Museum of Turin, the indefatigable Champollion, in his first letter to the Duc de Blacas, mentions one which appears to me to deserve our attention, as it exhibits a fact, the explanation of which is rather difficult and puzzling.

You remember that in the elevation of the celebrated palace of Karnac, the remains of a much older building had been preserved, so as to form a whole with the new edifice. On these remains there are various hieroglyphical legends, and one in particular, which is often repeated. It consists, as usual, of two ovals, [Table 11. fig. 3. *a* and *b*.] the first exhibiting the prænomen, or mystic titles, and the second the name of one of the Pharaohs. The meaning of which is, "King of the obedient people, the sun, guardian of the worlds, loving Ammon, son of the sun, beloved (or chosen) by Phtha, *Mandou-ei*." ancient
main
Egyptian
Pharaoh
Mandou-ei

Of this inscription I suppose you will now be able to decypher most of the characters. I will

therefore mention only those which, being symbolic, may present some difficulty. In the oval *a*, the external phonetic hieroglyphics express the usual title common to all monarchs, "King of the obedient people;" and amongst the internal, we see first the circle, which is the symbol of the god Phre, or the *Sun*, and the post with a jackal's head, the symbol of a *guardian*, then follows the beetle, as the symbol of the world, and the three dots, which are the mark of the plural number, and therefore of the three divisions of Egypt, or the Egyptian world; and the pedestal, an M, preceding the phonetic name of Ammon, (page 183,) means, *loving Ammon*. In the oval *b*, the external characters signify, as usual, *son of the sun*; and of the internal, the first three are the phonetic hieroglyphics of the god *Phtha*, (page 129,) and of the last two, the parallelogram stands for M, and means *Mei*, or *Mai*, that is, *loved*; the undulating line is an N, and means *of*, or *by*. Among the middle characters we have, first, the symbolico-figurative hieroglyphic of the god *Mandou*, and the two feathers, which are phonetic, and stand for I, or EI.

This Pharaoh *Mandou-ei*, is the *Osymandias* of the Greeks; the great conqueror whose magnificent tomb contained a voluminous library, and exhibited the sculpture of the campaigns of this prince against the Bactrians; Diodorus Siculus, who gives a minute description of this superb building, speaks of it from the information he had collected from the Egyptian annals, when he visited

that country; for the whole had disappeared. This of course must have been the effect of violence. The hand of time alone could not produce its annihilation. Time has been forced to respect, in Egypt, buildings less solid than this. But the curious circumstance to which I wish to call your attention is, that in all the legends of the Pharaoh Mandou-ei, the image of the god Mandou has been hammered away, and entirely cancelled. Even on the colossus of this prince, now existing in the Museum of Turin, and on which the name of this Pharaoh is repeated seven times, the same mutilation is observed: and the gentlemen who formed the commission of Egypt have also been obliged to publish, in the description of that country, the name of this prince, more or less mutilated in the two syllables which made the word *Mandou*, that is, they saw that in that place there was a hieroglyphic representing something like a sitting figure, which had been so defaced as not to allow them to discover that it had the head of a hawk, with two small feathers, or tufts. The same is observed in the colossus of this Pharaoh, in the British Museum.

This mutilation is much too general to suppose it the effect of chance. The cry of the whole nation can alone explain the striking phenomenon. History has in fact preserved accounts of some of these terrible judgments passed by the people on some of their sovereigns. We know the decree which was enacted against the founder himself of the

Egyptian monarchy, and the total abolition of the honours once paid to him; we read, not without shuddering, the very words of the malediction and curses poured on and inscribed against the very name of Menes, within the sacred precincts of the temples; and every scholar remembers in what degree of horror were held even those of *Chéops* and *Chephrènes*. We have then reason to suppose that something of the same sort was decreed against the Pharaoh *Mandou-ei*, and that the proscription of his memory was the cause of the mutilation. But then we should be inclined to ask, why so much hatred against a sovereign whose victories had extended their empire, and added new lustre to the annals of his reign, and adorned the capital, and indeed the whole of the country, with splendid and magnificent buildings?

M. Champollion, in noticing this extraordinary mutilation, leaves it in doubt whether this animadversion was directed against the Pharaoh, or the god Mandou; and after analysing this question in all its bearings, with that diffidence which at all times is the greatest characteristic of talent and learning, concludes the examination with the well-known saying,

Non nostrum tantas componere lites.

Perhaps after this confession of such a man as Champollion, I ought to imitate his example, and let this monument alone; for the motto with which he concludes his observations may, with

greater reason, be repeated by me. I must, therefore, request you will acquit me of presumption, if I venture to state some circumstances connected with this extraordinary mutilation of the name of Mandou, by which, perhaps, it may appear not unreasonable to suppose, that this mutilation was the effect of national indignation against the Pharaoh himself, not entirely unconnected with the Exodus of the Israelites.

In the first place, I ought to observe, that amongst the Pharaohs of the different dynasties, we find only three whose names were either entirely or in part made by that of the god Mandou. The first is the Pharaoh Mandou-ei, or Osymandias I. [fig. 3.] which I have just mentioned. He was the chief of the sixteenth dynasty. His historical name and mystic titles we have already explained, and therefore I pass on to the second Pharaoh, who bore the name of Mandou-ei. He is the *Achencheres* of Manetho. He was the thirteenth sovereign of the eighteenth dynasty, as we saw in a former Lecture, page 424, and lived, in round numbers, nearly seven centuries after the first. His historical name and mystic titles are exhibited in Table 11. fig. 2. *a* and *b*. The external hieroglyphics at the top of each oval are the same with those in fig. 3. exhibiting the legend of Mandou-ei I.; therefore, their meaning is, "King of the obedient people, and son of the sun." Equally the same are the characters in the oval *b*, which mean, "beloved by Phtha Mandou-ei." But those in the first ovala are different,

for they exhibit the symbol of the god Phré, and the figure of the goddess Smé, joined to the parallelogram, which is an abbreviation of Mei, and therefore means, "beloved by Phré and Smé." It is by this difference in the mystic titles that we discover, that though these two Pharaohs bore the same name of Mandou-ei, yet they are two distinct sovereigns, belonging to different dynasties.

The third Pharaoh, whose name composed that of the god Mandou, is *Mandouftep*. He was the chief of the twenty-first dynasty, and lived four centuries after Mandou-ei II.; and his name appears on a very interesting monument, which M. Champollion, in his second letter to the Duc de Blacas, styles "un précieux modèle de sculpture Egyptienne." On this monument there is a long inscription in hieroglyphics, consisting of fifteen long lines; the first and second of which exhibit, among other characters, the oval, containing some of his titles, and his historical name. [Table 11. fig. 4.]

Of the four external characters you have the regular import; "King of the obedient people." The first two pictures in the oval, the goose and the circle, are phonetic characters, and mean, "son of the sun;" and of the remaining signs the parallelogram is an M, the undulating line an N, the tongs a D, the bird an O, or U, the next sign an F, the half-circle a T, and the square a P; spelling all together Mandouftep, which is a compound of *Mandou*, the name of the god, and *tep*, or *tef*,

which means sacred, or devoted ; so that the whole means, “ sacred to the god Mandou.”

From these facts, therefore, it appears to me, that the mutilation of the hieroglyphics, whether figurative, symbolical, or phonetic, expressing the name of Mandou, cannot be applied to the god himself, nor to the Pharaoh Mandouftep, because, if this had been the case, we should have found the same mutilation on the monument I have just described, which, being of an important and religious character, was very proper to be selected as a fit object for this national animadversion. Upon these considerations, we may reasonably conclude that this mark of reproach was directed against one of the predecessors of Mandouftep ; and we must therefore endeavour, if possible, to ascertain whether it was against Mandou-ei I. or Mandou-ei II.

According to my view of the subject, I should suppose him to have been Mandou-ei II. Because, if public indignation had been roused against the first Mandou-ei, it would have been expressed against him, and him only, and not extended to his innocent successor ; and therefore we should expect to find the name of this latter respected and intact on those monuments which were either raised by his order, or to his memory, just as we have seen the monument of the Pharaoh Mandouftep. Because it is not likely that national hatred would have continued unabated for the space of seven centuries, and been shewn against

Mandou-ei the Second, merely because he happened to bear the name of his detested predecessor. But this is not the case; for we find even the name of this second Mandou-ei to have undergone the same mutilation. In the obelisk which some of the Cæsars had removed to Rome, and Pope Sixtus V. had caused to be placed before the Porta del Popolo, the figurative character of *Mandou* has been equally cancelled in the name of this prince, and the inscriptions of the Sallustian obelisk, which are but an indifferent copy, made by a Roman artist, of the beautiful sacred inscriptions engraved on the Flammian, exhibit the hieroglyphical character of Mandou, disfigured, and almost erased; and in fact where this character was, there is a hollow more strongly marked than for any of the remaining signs.

This is a very curious and important fact, which, according to my opinion, proves that the disfiguring and mutilation of the figurative signs of Mandou, must have been posterior to the reign of Mandou-ei I., and anterior to that of Mandouftép.

But it may be objected, if Mandou-ei II. had been the Pharaoh who had excited the indignation of his subjects, why should they have exhibited the same feeling of indignation, and mutilated the hieroglyphical inscriptions bearing the name of his predecessor Mandou-ei I., who had been dead seven centuries before? To this objection it may be answered, that popular fury and popular resentment is blind and uncontrollable; and we have no

reason to suppose the Egyptians to have been more reasonable and more scrutinizing than the rest of mankind. If the Pharaoh Mandou-ei II. had really given to his people a sufficient cause to detest his memory, and to erase even his name from the monuments on which it had been engraved, it is by no means improbable, nor indeed contrary to our nature, to suppose, that in consequence of their resentment and vengeance, the Egyptians had wished to expunge from their annals, and in fact totally annihilated, the very name of the detested Pharaoh, so that on no public monument should be found the figurative signs which might renew the memory of his name. This very violence of popular fury may lead us to suspect that the cause which produced it must have been very great; and as we know nothing so remarkable that happened during the reign of this prince as the Exodus of the Israelites, and the expulsion of the Hyk-shos, it is not improbable that this cause had been furnished by the Israelites themselves.

Against this supposition it may be urged, that if, according to the hypothesis of Mr. Faber, the Shepherds had been the oppressors of the Egyptians, as well as of the Israelites, why should these latter share with their oppressors the hatred of the people? Under these circumstances, it seems that both the Egyptians and the Israelites would have made common cause, and joined heart and hand against their tyrants; but they never would have thought of turning their strength against one

another, for it would have been the greatest folly to destroy their friends and fellow-sufferers : and if so, why should the Egyptians have manifested on their monuments towards the Israelites, the same hatred which they bore towards the Shepherds ? and, therefore, why should we find the Israelites exhibited in the same abject and humiliating posture as the Shepherds, and why should their images have been drawn upon the soles of the shoes of the Egyptians ?

This objection is more specious than just. You remember that, according to Manetho, the Israelites called to their assistance the expelled Shepherds ; and though afterwards they might have become the victims and the slaves of their allies, still the Egyptians could never forget that their own sufferings were the consequence of this first step of the Israelites. This consideration alone was sufficient to stifle in their hearts every feeling of compassion for their fellow-sufferers, and even persuade the Egyptians to extend to them the indignation they felt towards their oppressors ; for in point of fact, the Israelites had been the first and only cause that had brought on the land of Egypt and its wretched inhabitants, the devastation and misery produced by the second incursion of the Shepherds.

To this powerful reason another might have been added, arising from the vanity of the Pharaohs, or the flattery of the courtiers, who, perhaps, joined the Israelites to the conquered enemies of

their country for the sake of giving a greater degree of splendour to the victories, the memory of which their monuments were intended to preserve.

But, it may be replied, admitting that the national indignation towards the Shepherds might have been extended to the Israelites for having invited them to come to their assistance; and admitting that the Exodus of these latter took place under the reign of Mandou-ei II. there is no possible reason to account for the hatred which the Egyptians exhibited against this prince, who, after all, had nothing to do with the Shepherds; because, if these had been the oppressors of the Egyptians, as well as of the Israelites, so as to excite the wrath of the Almighty, who overpowered them at last in the Red Sea, no cause can be assigned for the indignation of the people against the Pharaoh Mandou-ei; for he either had no share whatever in the transaction, or must have directed his exertions in favour of his subjects, and against the common enemies of his country. We must, therefore, conclude, that either the Exodus of the Israelites did not take place during the reign of this prince, or that the cause which prompted the Egyptians to erase the name of this Pharaoh from the monuments, had no connexion whatever with the Israelites.

I am obliged to acknowledge the force of this difficulty; the only one, in fact, which appears to overturn the supposition of the Shepherd kings being the oppressors of the Israelites, and their

monarch the Pharaoh who was drowned in the Red Sea; for, admitting that the hatred of the Egyptians against the name of Mandou had been directed, not against the god, but against the Pharaoh, we are at a loss to account for so much national indignation, but by the simple supposition that he was the monarch who had brought upon his people the evils recorded in Scripture, and had been the leader of the army that perished in the Red Sea.

Notwithstanding, however, so great an objection, we ought to consider that we know so little of the Egyptian history of this period, and that little from the fragments of Manetho; these have not reached us entire, but much mutilated and altered by his antagonists, who quoted him for the sake of proving, contrary to his own assertions, that the Hyk-shos were no other than the Jews. We must, therefore, pause before we lay aside the mass of evidence and facts which I have detailed to you merely because we cannot account for the expression of national indignation which the Egyptians had manifested against Mandou-ei II. But whether we deny or admit the supposition in regard to the mutilation of characters which I have just mentioned; that is, whether we deny or admit that the king of the Hyk-shos, and not the monarch of Egypt, was the Pharaoh who was drowned in the Red Sea; the validity of the computation which fixes on the reign of the Pharaoh Mandou-ei II. as the era in which the Exodus took

place, remains equally unaffected and established ; for the account we have from Manetho, mutilated as it is, has been acknowledged to be true by the most accredited historians ; and we must, as far as it goes, consider it as a true and faithful representation of the events that happened at the time. The Egyptian monuments also command our belief ; their authority and genuineness are undeniable ; they, as well as their historian, explain events, and account for facts which are either shortly related by, or merely hinted at, in the sacred books of Genesis and Exodus. How, then, is it possible to reject such a mass of direct as well as collateral evidence which presses upon our minds ?

The question, after all, is a simple question of chronology, resting upon data which are generally admitted. We have but to count 430 years from Abraham first visiting Egypt to the Exodus, and compare the result with the statement of Manetho, from the first irruption of the Shepherds, to their final expulsion. And whether we follow the reckoning of the Hebrew text, or of the Septuagint, I do not see how we can deny that the Pharaoh Amenophis was the prince who admitted Israel and his family into Egypt. This being the case, we have but to reckon 215 years from this period downwards, through the whole series of the princes who succeeded Amenophis, and the consequence is undeniable ; for these 215 years terminate at the time of the Pharaoh Mandou-ei.

Perhaps the monuments will, ere long, supply

the deficiency of history ; and this inquiry, which is at present surrounded with so much difficulty, will then appear simple and clear, even to the most inattentive reader. For one thing, however, I may be permitted to express my regret, and that is, that the luckless fate which has attended many of my pursuits, has still, on this occasion, exercised its malignant influence. I had ventured to write on this subject to Champollion ; and that amiable scholar, with the readiness that always accompanies high talent and real knowledge, had been kind enough to collect for me some important materials in answer to the questions that I had put to him. But my evil genius was still on the watch ; the friend I had commissioned to obtain Champollion's answer, not happening to call at the moment, Champollion, in the hurry and confusion of his departure for Egypt, forgot both my questions and his answers, and the valuable information never reached me. Notwithstanding, however, such a loss, wishing to gratify the repeated instances of my friends, I have endeavoured, to the best of my power, to collect and to state as shortly as I could, what has been written, and what my thoughts are on this most interesting point of ancient history ; a point which hitherto has baffled the efforts of men much my superiors in regard to natural talent, and solid and extensive knowledge.

With this inquiry we close, for the present, our Lectures on hieroglyphics. On this curious subject more still remains to be said ; and I am sorry

that want of time does not permit me to read to you three or four more Lectures, which I have already compiled. They will supply us with some of the materials for our next course. I shall then exhibit to you the alphabet of the demotic as well as hieratic letters; and explain the method discovered by Champollion, how the Egyptians turned hieroglyphic into demotic characters. I have also to offer to your consideration, in a more regular and detailed form, what I said in the very first year of my lecturing, and which I have occasionally repeated in my subsequent courses concerning the mysteries of Isis; the doctrines which they inculcated; the trials of the aspirants; the length of their probation; and the mode which was pursued by the priesthood to ensure the inviolability of the secret. This account will lead us to the investigation of another subject equally connected with hieroglyphics, and extremely interesting in its nature;—I mean, the origin of idolatry: and if the multiplicity of my avocations allows me sufficient leisure, I mean to turn my attention to the table of Abydos, and dedicate one or more Lectures to explain its contents.

But before we part, for the sake of those whom I see here for the last time, and who perhaps will continue to pursue the study of hieroglyphics and Egyptian antiquities, I think it necessary to warn you all never to form too hasty a judgment in regard to any real or apparent discrepancy which you may find between the Egyptian monuments,

and the venerable account of our sacred Scriptures. I warn you still more against the perusal of those books which tend to shake our belief, by attacking the veracity of the Mosaic account, at least, until your judgment has acquired a proper degree of maturity, and your mind has been sufficiently stored with proper and wholesome knowledge. From decidedly immoral books I know you will turn away with disgust; and I even hope that you will immediately lay aside those which, under the alluring colours of fashion, have the same tendency. The description of vice and immorality can never occupy the mind of a well-bred scholar; their images, notwithstanding the high polish of language, are too coarse to fix for a moment the attention of a gentleman. It is not against these books that I am talking: my warning is directed towards another and more dangerous sort of publications, which mislead the unwary by the imposing name of philosophy, which discuss subjects above the capacity of the human mind; which go on carefully collecting every little discrepancy, every minute difference that can be found or imagined in the several books of the sacred writings, for the sake of attacking the veracity of the whole, and bringing into contempt the authority of the Gospel.

Against these books, I repeat it, I can never sufficiently warn you. The difference, however striking, that can be found in the account of the circumstances attending any fact, believe me, is not a sufficient reason for disbelieving that fact.

Sound criticism and a more extensive reading will soon reconcile these apparent contradictions. The best authenticated histories are full of them ; and yet most of these histories are the productions of eye-witnesses ; of men who had a share in the transactions they relate ; of pious and honourable individuals, who had neither a wish nor a reason to conceal the truth, and most of them men of great mental acquirements, and in every respect fitted to do ample justice to their subject ; and yet what a difference in the relations of these historians ! Sometimes, even, what manifest contradictions ! Do we then say, that what they relate is false ? Do we disbelieve their recitals, and disregard the whole as a tissue of fables ? And yet this is precisely the mode that these pretended philosophers adopt, when they speak of the Christian religion. They wish to extinguish the light of the Gospel, for the sake of introducing the light of reason. Light of reason indeed ! In our Lecture on the origin of idolatry, you will hear into what a dreadful state this boasted light of our reason led the whole of mankind, previous to the publication of the Gospel. You will then see the excesses which all nations have committed ; the terrible and disgusting consequences which have followed the aberration of human reason. From the historical picture which I shall then endeavour to draw ; from the short account of the religious revolutions which have happened amongst all nations ; from the brief examination we shall make of all

ages ; we shall only learn the history of our errors, of our follies, and of our abominations. In one corner of the universe, one single nation, one people alone possessed sure and proper notions of the Supreme Being, and of the moral duties belonging to man. Every where else we shall find stupidity, wanderings, and darkness. It is true, that in their origin the mysteries of Isis might have been established for the sake of preserving the right idea of the Deity ; for the sake of transmitting to posterity the memory of those events which so deeply interested the fate of man : but in progress of time even these mysteries became polluted, corrupt, and abominable. The priests of Egypt, as they became, in point of time, the distant successors of the primitive Hierophantes, were no longer the preservers and vouchers of truth, but the teachers of fable, and the heralds of absurdity. The true God, the God of all nations, was forgotten, or misrepresented ; his indivisible and unchangeable essence was divided amongst as many dependent and changeable gods as there were upon earth and in the heavens creatures whom he himself had created. The most extraordinary deities, both male and female, had taken the place of the most perfect of all Beings ; men paid divine honours to animals, to the ox, to the dog, to the cat, and the crocodile ; incense was offered by the cunning or deluded priesthood, to the sun, the moon, the stars, and the earth ; and a great portion of mankind paid adoration and homage to senseless trees,

and even to the offensive onions ; the empty names of fortune and fear, the worst passions of our nature, were deified ; and a whole host of wise men, at the head of their respective nations, were seen on their knees before grotesque figures, which perhaps the artist himself had ridiculed whilst he was working them, but which he himself adored after they were finished. Our own forefathers prostrated before hideous and shameless images ; heroes consulting the feeding of chickens ; the flight of birds striking terror into the hearts of the bravest ; and every where infamous worship, impure offerings, gods stained with the most foul crimes, cruel sacrifices, human victims, vice on the altars, pollution in the temples, and the hearts of men possessed by the vilest passions, which, in the present state of social civilization, and by the light of the Gospel, we can scarcely believe possible to belong to our nature. Indeed, if there be one benefit greater than another, for which we ought to be truly thankful, it is undoubtedly that of being born under the Christian dispensation.

THE END.

ERRATA.

PAGE. LINE.

- 3 21 *for* Pilgrim *read* Pilgrimes
- 16 24 — Ptolomies *read* Ptolemies
- 18 14 — Tsaky *read* Tapé
- 78 31 — fig. 1. *read* fig. 3.
- 88 21 — fig. 25. and 26. *read* fig. 26. and 27.
- 27 — fig. 26. *read* fig. 27.
- 29 — fig. 25. *read* fig. 26.
- 110 9 — Amouse *read* Amonse
- 112 26 — Table 2. *read* Table 3.
- 127 1 — Emon *read* Amon
- 132 1 — fig. 2. *read* fig. 11.
- 151 2 — Agyptischen *read* Ægyptischen
- 4 — Baachman *read* Bachman
- 11 — Tmé *read* Samé

PAGE. LINE.

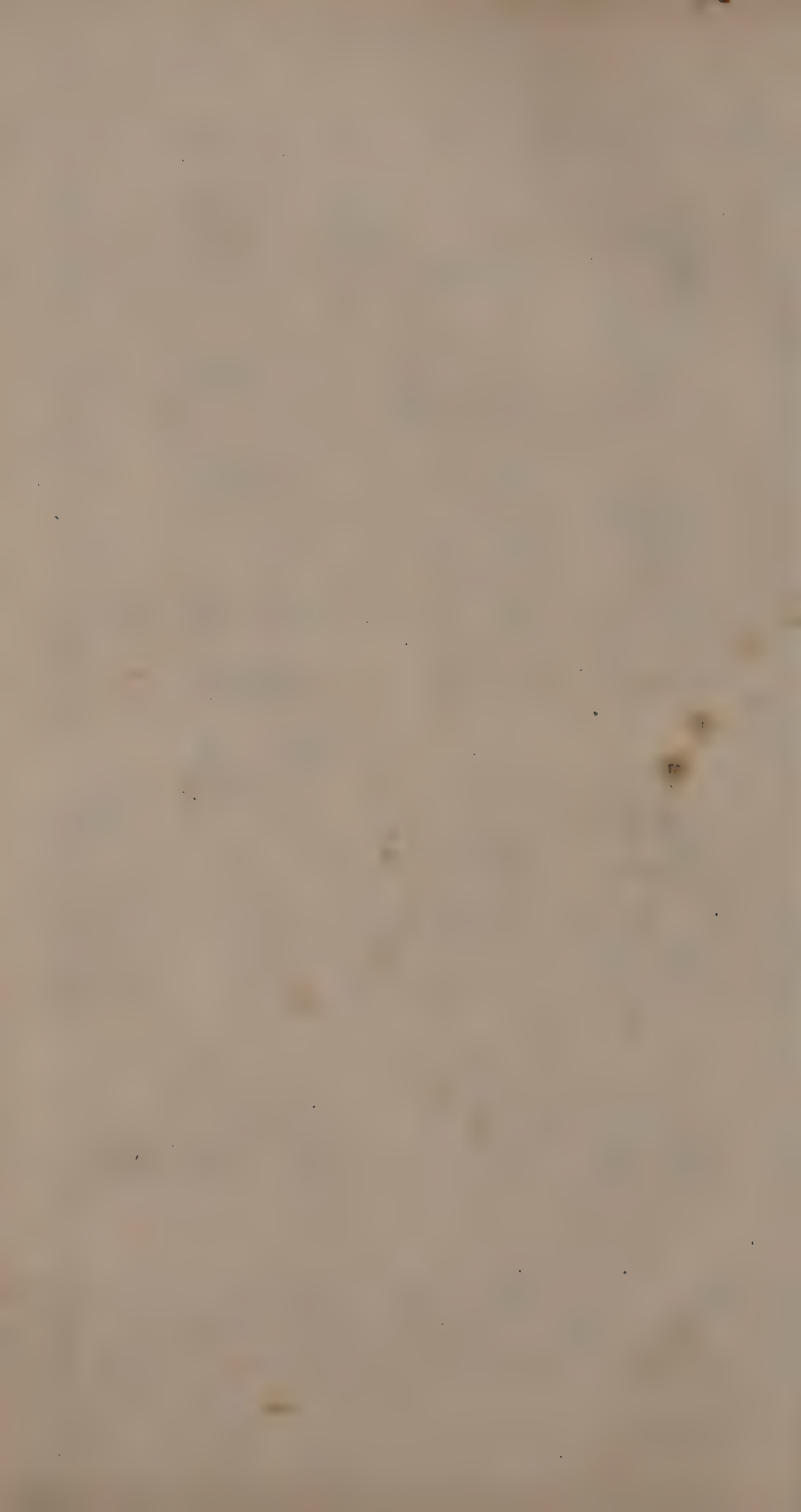
- 181 6 *for* mais *read* mai
- 213 1 — Lugsor *read* Louqsor
- 235 12 — Exprimant *read* exprimunt
- 249 11 — This Almanack was *read* This Al-
manak [Table 10] was
- 283 19 — nuoe *read* noue
- 338 Myara *read* Mysara
- 355 4 — Νομοι *read* Νομος
- 7 — Nome *read* Nomes
- 357 24 — Psammeitus *read* Psammeticus
- 377 2 — second *read* first
- 439 13 — have been decyphered *read* have
been *afterwards* decyphered.
- 479 31 — ovala *read* oval

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HIEROGLYPHICAL ALPHABET.

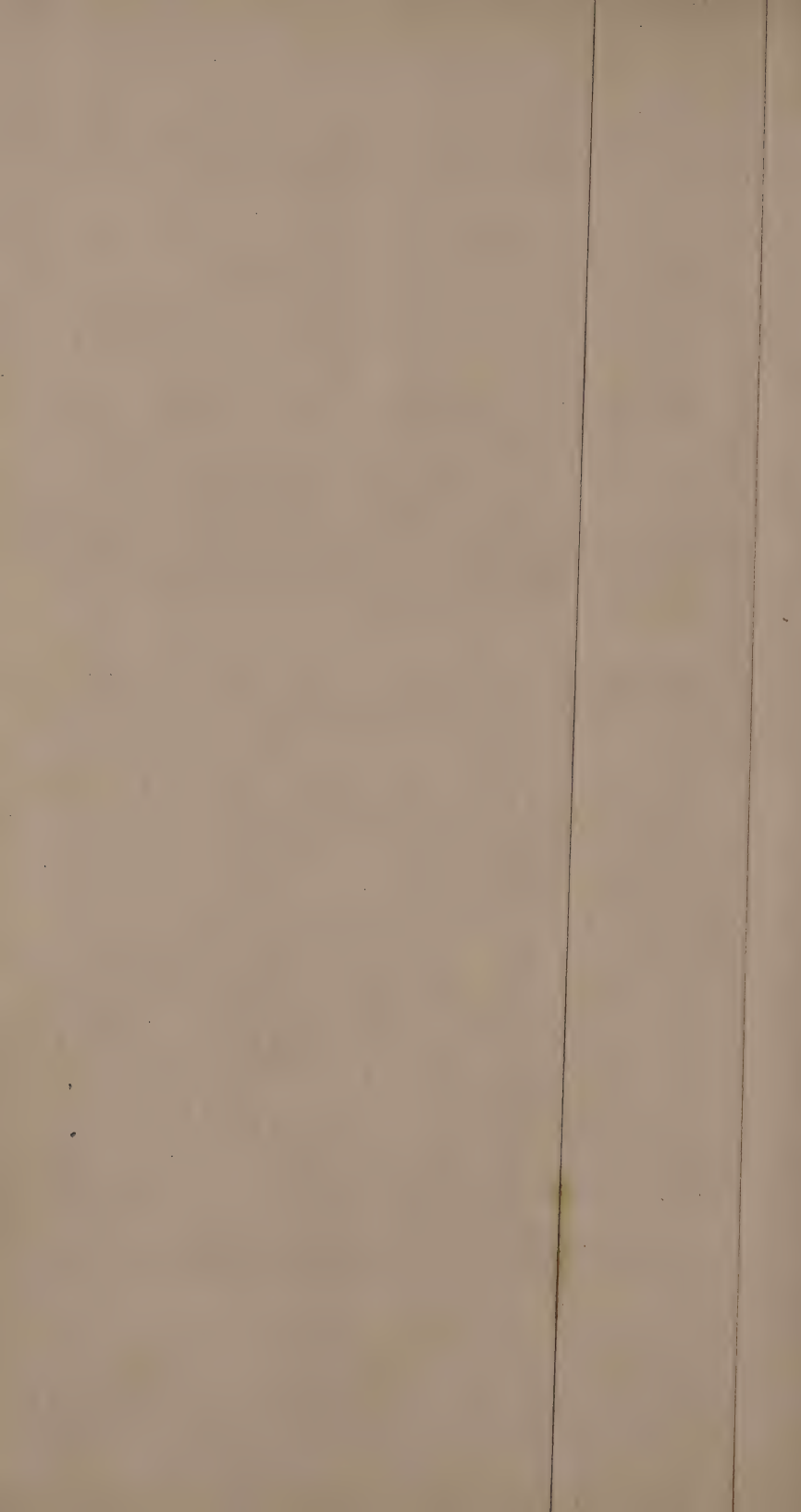
A.	
B.	
D. or T.	
E. or I.	
F. P. or V.	
G. or K.	
L. or R.	
M.	
N.	
O.	
S.	
U. and X.	
Z. and S III.	

Table IV.

Table IV.









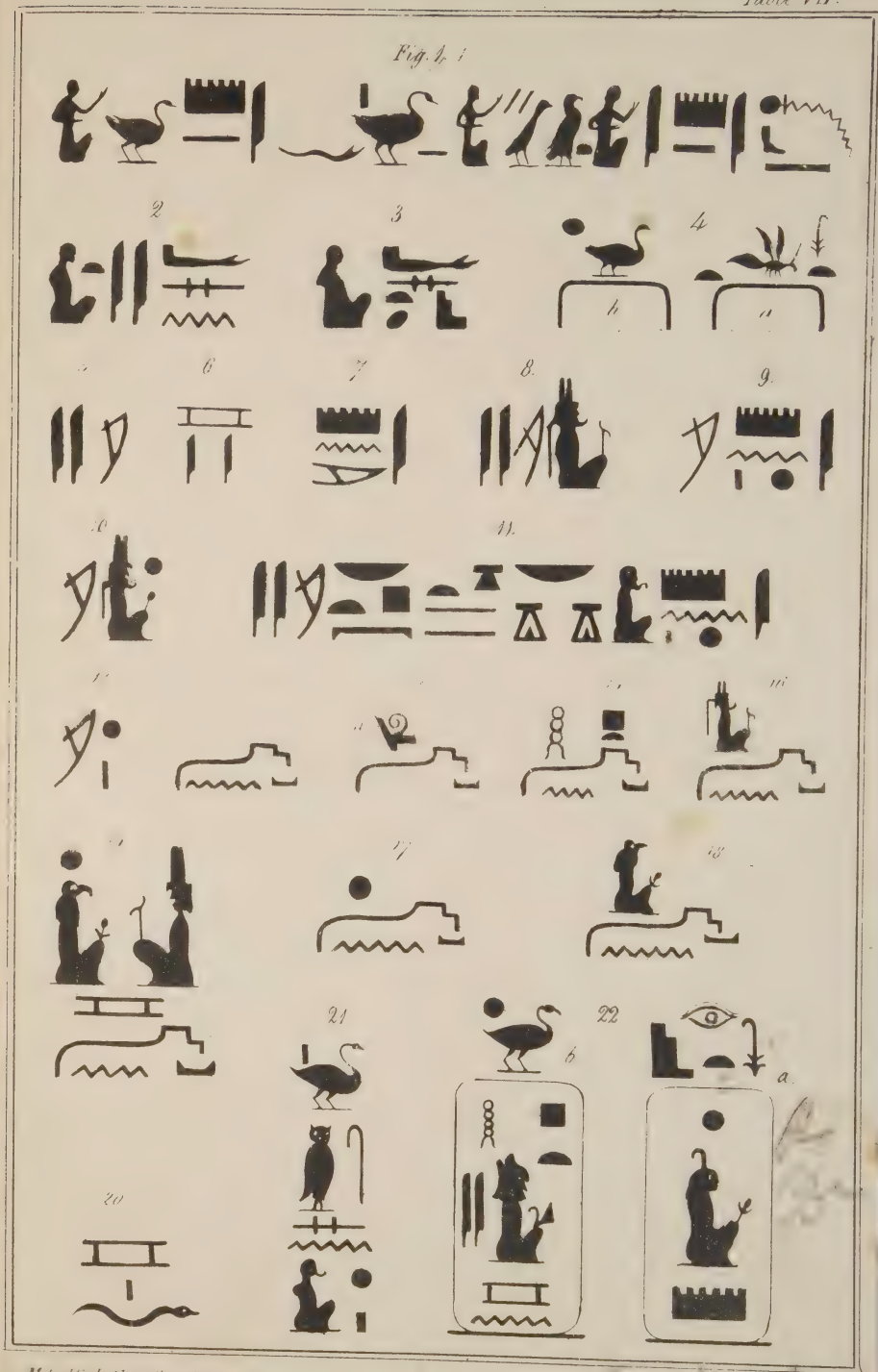


Fig. 1.

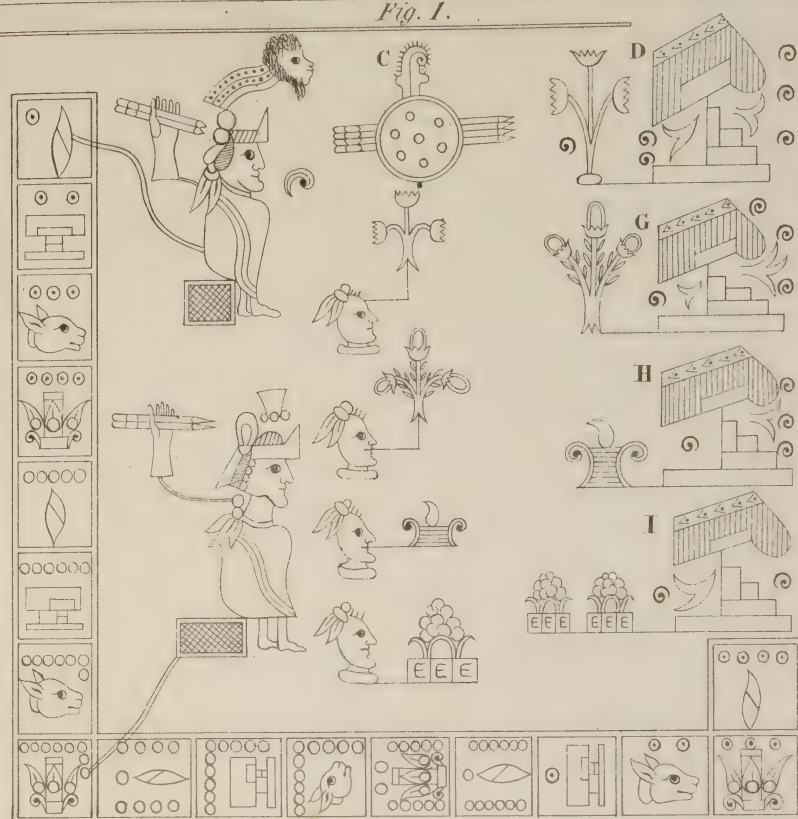


Fig 2.

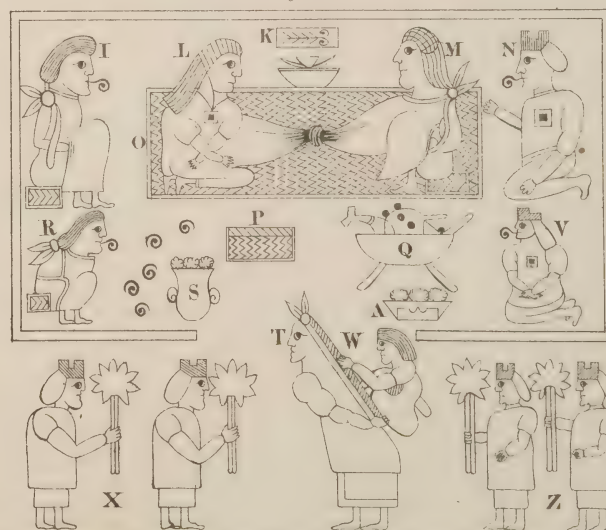
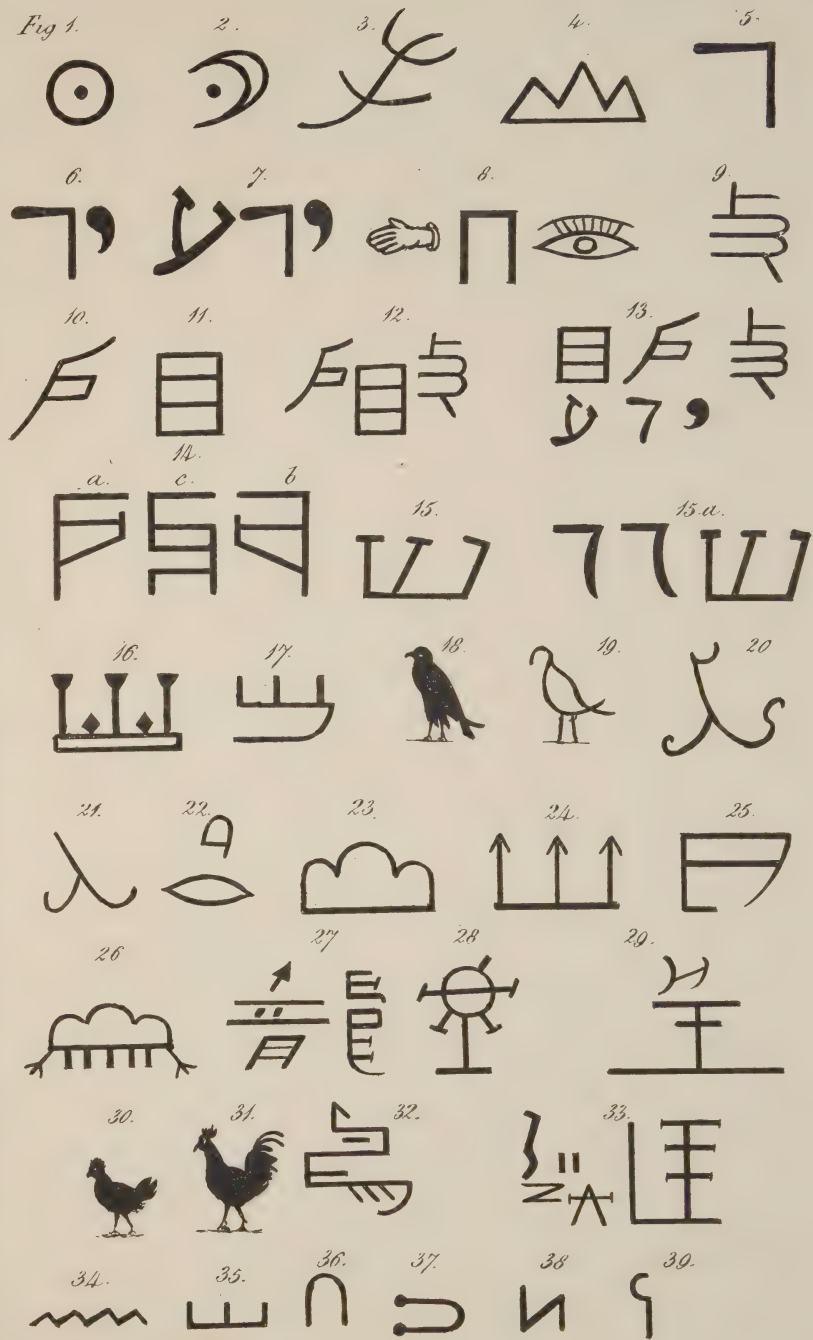
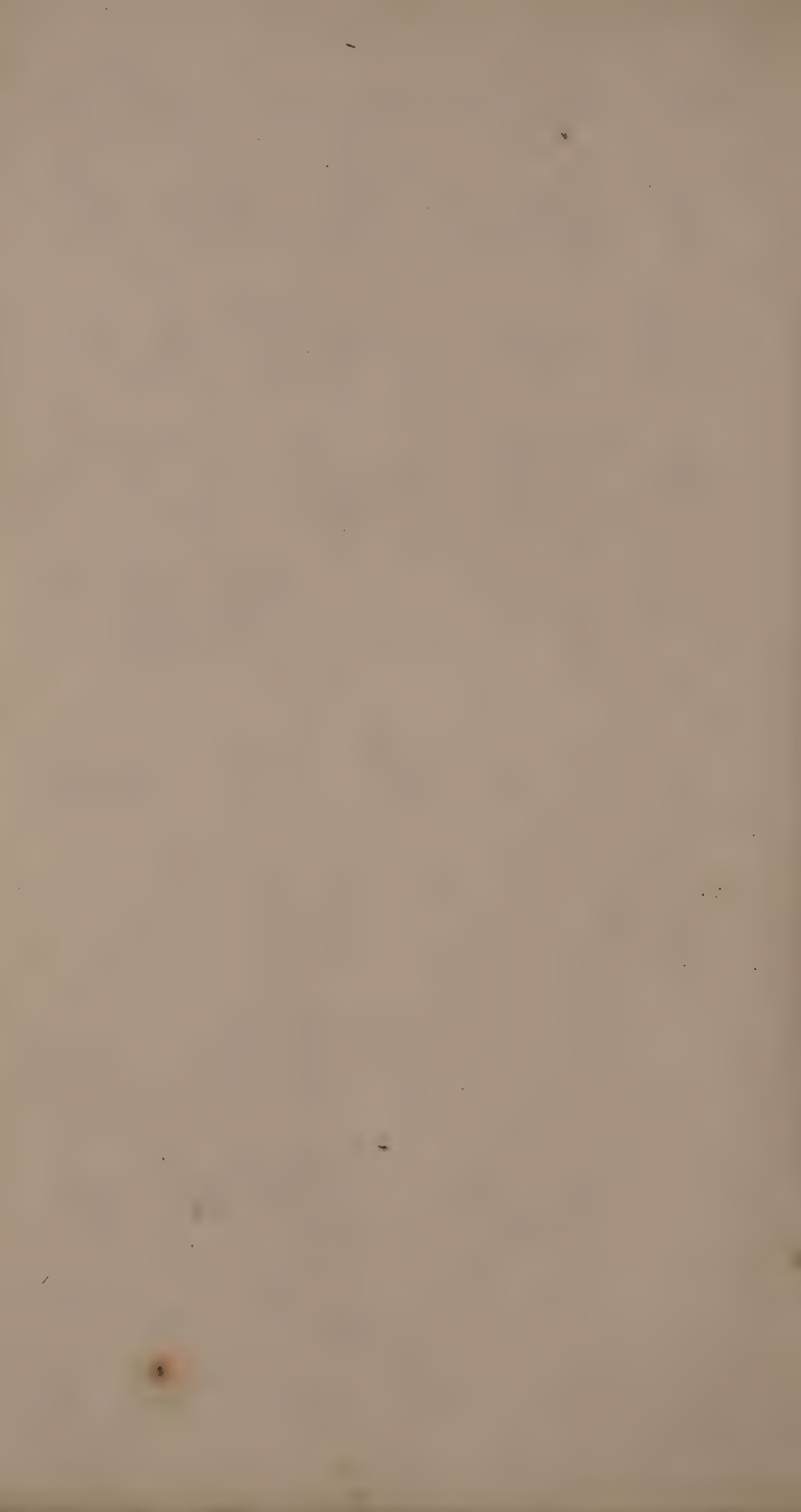


Fig 1.

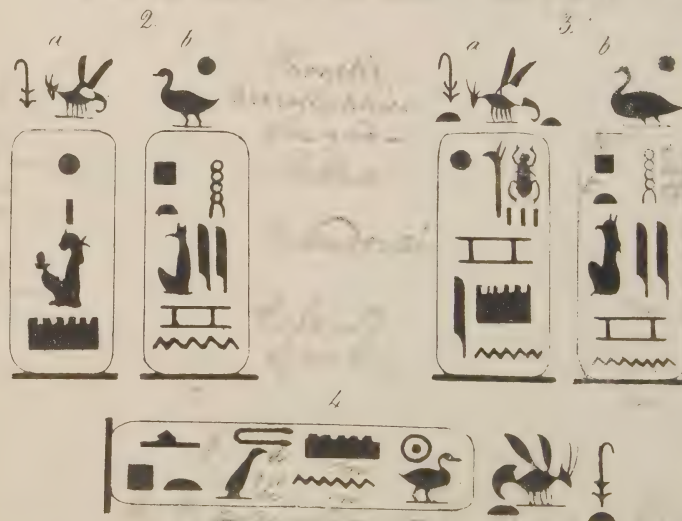
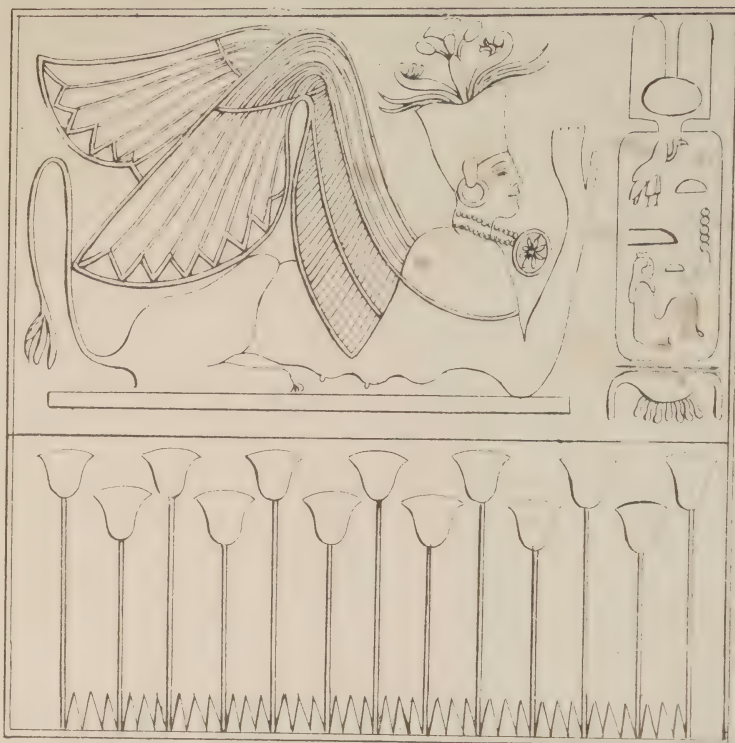




A sketch of a stylized, abstract face. The face is composed of several geometric and organic shapes. The mouth is wide and open, showing a row of sharp, pointed teeth. The eye is large and expressive, with a thick, curved line above it. The overall style is reminiscent of early 20th-century modernism, possibly influenced by Cubism or Expressionism.



Fig 1







See Christian Times, Apr 12. 1857.

Some Greek Manuscripts found
in a cave at the foot of Mt. Athos
by a learned Greek named
Lionidas, some of them
giving a complete interpretation
of Hesiod's poem.
They have been successfully
applied to the inscription on
the obelisk of the Hippodrome
at Constantinople —

